

FOURTH VOLUME
OF
UNIVERSAL HISTORY,
COMMENCING WITH THE YEAR 141,
AND
ENDING AT THE DEATH OF CHRIST.
IN LETTERS
FROM A FATHER TO HIS SON.

BY FRANCIS DOBBS, ESQ.

LONDON:

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FOURTH VOLUME

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

CONTAINING THE YEAR 1711

ENDING AT THE DEATH OF CHRIST

IN LETTERS

FROM A FATHER TO HIS SON

BY FRANCIS DORRIS, ESQ.

FOURTH EDITION

IN TWO VOLUMES

BY A NEW EDITION, AT LONDON, 1711

IN TWO VOLUMES

NEW EDITION

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SIXTH ERA

OF

Universal History,

*Commencing with the Year 141, and Ending at
the Death of Christ.*

FIRST LETTER.

TOWARDS the end of my last Era
or at the commencement of the present, Jo-
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guardianship of Antiochus Theos, the minor king of Syria. This was treacherously accomplished from Tryphon's knowing the integrity of Jonathan, and that he would be a most dangerous opponent to his ambitious views. And having thus got rid of him, Tryphon dispatched the Syrian king, after which he usurped the vacant throne.

Simon, the successor of Jonathan, owed nothing but resentment to Tryphon. And having taken upon himself the title of Prince of Judea, he prepared to revenge his murdered brother. For this purpose he made overtures to Demetrius Nicator, who had been dethroned; who most gladly embraced the terms which Simon proposed. But this unfortunate Prince was soon after taken prisoner by the Parthians. Nicator's brother, Antiochus Sidetes, then became the competitor of Tryphon; and he secured the assistance of the Jews, by the same concessions which had been granted by Demetrius.

The garrison of Arca, which had held out through all these changes, at length submit-

ted to Simon, by whom this dangerous fortress was destroyed. He likewise had the precaution to lay up stores of wealth and arms. And well it was that he conducted himself with so much prudence; for Sidetes had no sooner secured the Syrian sceptre, than he declared, that Judea must again become its tributary.

To support this demand, a very considerable army was sent against the Jews. John and Judas, the sons of Simon, were prepared for its reception; and in an engagement which took place, the Syrians were entirely defeated. This victory was, however, soon clouded by the death of Simon; who, together with his sons Judas and Mattathias, were treacherously slain by Ptolemy, his son-in-law. That wretch had aspired to the Jewish crown. But John, surnamed Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, escaping the slaughter of his family, the hopes of Ptolemy were frustrated, and he saved himself by flight.

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to have weakened the Jewish strength; for, on Antiochus Sidetes entering Judea in person, Hyrcanus made but little opposition. Sidetes, however, behaved with great lenity. And after granting Hyrcanus better terms than could be expected, he led his forces against more dangerous enemies.

On the death of Sidetes, which happened very soon after, Syria was torn by the most dreadful interior dissensions. Hyrcanus had, therefore, nothing to fear from that quarter; and he not only threw off the yoke, but in his turn became a conqueror. Samaria was added to his dominions, instead of continuing tributary to Syria. The Edomites who had been so long severed from Judea, were unable to withstand him. They consented to resign their own laws and customs, adopting in their stead the Jewish dispensation. And thus the descendants of Esau and Jacob acknowledged one common sovereign, and were compleatly blended together.

Hyrcanus now solicited a renewal of the alliance with Rome. This was easily obtained;

for it was the policy of that republic to divide the East into as many independent states as possible, thereby preventing any great empire from arising in that quarter. And Hyrcanus having thus secured his tranquillity, restored Judea to a very considerable degree of power.

About the year 107, he was succeeded by his son Aristobulus, who was far from being the successor of his father's virtues. And though he only reigned one year, he, in that time, put to death his mother and one of his brothers, from a jealousy of their intentions.

The crown now devolved on Alexander Jannæus, another son of Hyrcanus, who began with cutting off his only surviving brother. He was engaged in several wars, by which he rather enlarged his dominions. His reign was, however, grievously disturbed by religious dissensions: For though the real duties of life were, at this time, very little attended to by the Jews, yet the different

explanations of the Mosaic law, gave rise to the greatest animosities. After bearing the sceptre for twenty-seven years, Jannæus bequeathed it to his queen Alexandra; who appointed her eldest son, Hyrcanus, to the vacant High-Priesthood.

The disputes of the Sadducees and Pharisees, at this time, rose to a higher pitch than ever. The queen, together with the High-priest, declared for the latter, treating the former with a good deal of severity. But the Sadducees found an advocate in Aristobulus, the younger son of Alexandra; who sought to make them instrumental to his designs upon the crown.

Accordingly, on the death of his mother, he openly avowed his intentions; and putting himself at the head of the Sadducees, he took the field against his brother. Hyrcanus, with the Pharisees, soon after gave him battle. But Aristobulus proved victorious, and both the crown and High-Priesthood were resigned to him, on condition that

Hircanus should be permitted to enjoy his private fortune.

One Antipater was, at this time, governor of Idumea. He was a native of that country, and having, with the rest of its inhabitants, embraced the Jewish law, he styled himself a Pharisee. He therefore determined to break this agreement so fatal to his party. And having engaged Aretas, king of Arabia, in his interests, he prevailed on Hircanus to take shelter in that court.

Aretas, with a powerful army, now re-conducted Hircanus to his native country. Antipater, with the rest of the Pharisees, immediately declaring for him, Aristobulus was, in his turn, defeated; and flying to Jerusalem, he fortified himself in its temple, abandoning the city to his successful opponent.

This event took place about the year 65, when Pompey commanded the Roman forces in Syria. Aristobulus, therefore, as his last resource, implored the assistance of Pompey; he at present was by the side of his

who readily declared himself an umpire between the contending parties. He, at the same time, ordered Aretas to retire with his forces, which the Arabian did not dare to disobey. Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were then summoned to come in person before him. And to such a height was the Roman power, at this time, arisen, that both immediately set out for Syria.

The contending Princes took with them very considerable presents, in order to procure the favour of their arbitrator. But though Pompey enriched himself at their joint expence, he declared for Hyrcanus. On this Aristobulus flew to arms; being however soon subdued, he and his sons Alexander and Antigonus were transmitted to Rome.

It would neither be entertaining nor improving to give you an account of some disturbances which Aristobulus and Alexander afterwards created in Judea, having found means to escape from the Romans. It is sufficient to say, they were defeated in all

their attempts; and that Aristobulus being retaken, was again conducted to the Roman capital.

As Syria was at this time become a province; and as the Jews had been formerly tributary to that kingdom, they were from henceforth considered by the Romans as subject to their jurisdiction. Gabinius, the Prefect of Syria, accordingly divided the territories of Hyrcanus into five districts, over which as many governors were appointed. When Crassus succeeded Gabinius, he went still farther, for he plundered the temple of Jerusalem of more than two millions of our money, without the Jews even daring to oppose him. And thus it appears, that though Hyrcanus retained the name of Prince, he was in fact possessed of little more than the power belonging to the High-Priesthood.

After the death of Crassus, Caius Cassius for a short time commanded in Syria. During that period, Aristobulus's party again made head, under one Pitolaus. But Cassius

coming to the aid of Hyrcanus, Pitolaus was totally defeated.

When Julius Cæsar and Pompey quarrelled, the Jews sided with the latter. Cæsar therefore gave Aristobulus his liberty, in order to create a diversion in Judea. But Pompey had him put to death on his road to that country. His son Alexander likewise lost his life in a short time after. On which Alexandra, the widow of Aristobulus, and her son Antigonus, took shelter in the court of Memnaps, king of Chalcis.

Antipater had continued the first in favour with Hyrcanus from the time of his restoration, exercising, in fact, whatever power belonged to his master. And after the death of Pompey, an opportunity of turning Cæsar's resentment into friendship arising, Antipater had too much wisdom to neglect it. Cæsar had got himself into a most dangerous situation in Egypt, from whence he sent orders to Syria and other parts for the most speedy aid. When these troops entered Judea, Antipater not only supplied them with every

thing they wanted, but reinforced them at the head of a Jewish army. And when they arrived in Egypt, he most particularly signalized himself in the relief of Cæsar. In return, Cæsar made him a Roman citizen, and Procurator of Judea. He likewise conferred the governments of Jerasalem and Sephoris, two of the five districts into which Hyrcanus's dominions had been divided, on Phasaelus and Herod, the sons of Antipater; thereby raising this Idumean family to a very high degree of power.

During the life of Julius Cæsar, the Jews were blessed with the most perfect tranquillity. But Cassius, one of the conspirators who slew him, coming into Asia, imposed a very heavy tax on the five Jewish districts. Phasaelus and Herod indeed made up theirs with great expedition, thereby rendering themselves very agreeable to Cassius, who bestowed the government of Cælo-Syria upon Herod. But the other three districts not bringing in their quotas with the same punctuality, many of their inhabitants were sold

as slaves, to make up the tax which was demanded.

A little after this Antipater died of poison, given him by one Malichus. He was revenged by Herod, who put the murderer to death; and likewise suppressed an insurrection which the brother of Malichus had occasioned. A danger of greater magnitude soon after threatened Judea. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, being assisted by the prince of Chalcis, appeared at the head of a considerable army, to claim the crown of Hyrcanus. Herod, however, defeated him also. And Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, a Princess of the most exquisite beauty, was thereupon given him in marriage.

After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, Marc Antony renewed all the edicts of Julius Cæsar in favour of the Jews. He also caused all those whom Cassius had sold into slavery to be redeemed. And Herod, with his brother Phasaclius, likewise found means to ingratiate themselves with this powerful Roman.

On Antony's Lieutenants in Syria being defeated by Pacorus, king of Parthia, the Jews were involved in fresh difficulties; for both Pacorus and the Prince of Chalcis espoused the cause of Antigonus, and led their forces against Judea. Several engagements ensued without any thing decisive, and a pacific treaty was the consequence. On the part of Antigonus it was however insincere, for he treacherously deprived Hyrcanus and Phasaclus, the brother of Herod, of their liberty. The ears of the first were then cut off, that he might be for ever rendered incapable of the High Priesthood. And the latter being either put to death, or having laid violent hands upon himself, Antigonus possessed himself of the Jewish sceptre.

Herod having narrowly escaped the snare into which his brother and father-in-law had fallen, immediately posted to Rome. There he solicited and obtained from Antony and Octavius Cæsar a grant of the Jewish crown, with orders to the Roman governors in that quarter to assist him in obtaining the posses-

sion of it. Thus supported, Herod did not delay asserting his pretensions. Many engagements took place, till at length Antigonus was forced to take shelter in Jerusalem. Having made an obstinate defence, it was taken by storm, thousands of its inhabitants being put to the sword. After which Antigonus was transmitted to Antony, by whom he was put to death, at the desire of Herod.

Thus ended the regal power of the Asmonæan or Macabæan family. They were called Macabæan from Judas Macabæus; and Asmonæan from Asmonæus, the ancestor of the virtuous Mattathias.

It was about 38 years before the birth of Christ, that Herod the Great, for so he is distinguished, ascended the Jewish throne; nor was he long on it, before he displayed his real character. He put to death, without mercy, all the friends and adherents of Antigonus, at the same time enriching himself by their possessions. His own party was also plundered, for he ordered, almost indiscriminately, all the wealth of Jerusalem into

his coffers, stopping at nothing that either gratified his avarice or his resentment.

Hyrcanus being a maimed person, was excluded, by the Jewish law, from the High Priesthood. It however of right belonged to his son Aristobulus. But Herod, foreseeing the danger of raising the lawful heir of the crown itself to so exalted a station, had given that office to one Ananel. Alexandra, the mother of Aristobulus, therefore solicited Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, in favour of her son, whose influence over Antony was well known. When Herod heard this, he thought proper to depose Ananel, at the same time bestowing the High Priesthood on Aristobulus. Aristobulus was at this time a beautiful and engaging youth, and recalling to the minds of the Jews the heroic actions of his Macabæan ancestors, Jerusalem resounded with his praise. A praise, however, that proved fatal to him; for Herod dreading his popularity, had him drowned whilst taking the diversion of swimming, after having suffered him to enjoy his office about one year.

Alexandra instantly accused Herod; calling on Antony, who then resided in Egypt, to revenge this murder. Herod was accordingly ordered before the Roman Tribunal. He, however, took with him a sum sufficient to atone for any offence with such a man as Antony; and on his return, he imprisoned Alexandra.

Before he set out for Egypt, being doubtful of his fate, he left orders with Joseph, his uncle, that if he was executed, Mariamne should be put to death; which arose from a jealousy that even extended beyond the grave. When the news of his acquittal arrived, Joseph told Mariamne of his private orders, as a proof of the excessive love of Herod. But this was not the light in which it appeared to Mariamne. And when added to the murder of her brother, it had such an effect, that she could not conceal her loathing and disgust.

Salome, a sister of Herod's, was at the same time the wife of Joseph, her uncle. She hated her husband, and Mariamne was

also odious to her. Therefore, when she perceived the manner in which Mariamne received the king, and that she at the same time accused him of the private instructions he had given to Joseph, she plotted their destruction; by persuading Herod, that nothing but a criminal connexion could have drawn such a secret from Joseph. Thus instigated, the frantic monarch immediately caused his uncle to be put to death, whilst Mariamne herself most narrowly escaped.

Herod was now engaged in a contest with the Arabians, which after many doubtful battles, terminated in a treaty of peace. Besides these ravages of war, his dominions were also afflicted with an earthquake, which did much mischief.

When Antony was defeated at Actium, Herod, who had been of his party, hastened to throw himself on the mercy of the victorious Octavius Cæsar. But influenced by a cruel policy, he first caused the aged Hyrcanians to be put to death, though he had resided at Jerusalem under the most solemn

promises of safety. Herod likewise left the same orders as to the beautiful Mariamne, that he had formerly given prior to his journey to Egypt. She supposed it was so, and found means to draw the secret from Schemus, a favourite minister, to whom it was entrusted. This, in addition to the murder of her late father, was too much for her feelings. When Herod returned, she therefore openly avowed her detestation. And Salome, at the same time, falsely accusing her of an intrigue with Schemus, the enraged king ordered both queen and favourite to an instant execution.

But the sentence was scarcely performed, when the most poignant sorrow filled his breast. With Mariamne perished even the semblance of happiness. Her charms were constantly present to his imagination, whilst her fancied crimes were buried in the grave; and in a state of phrenzy, he frequently ordered his attendants to bring her before him, as if she had been still amongst the living. Thus miserable himself, he resolved to ex-

tend his wretchedness to it within his reach. For, from this period, his friends and foes were pretty equally sacrificed to his resentment and caprice.

Not long after the death of Mariamne, Judea was afflicted with a grievous plague. The king being seized with it, and being also supposed to be at the point of death, Alexandra, though still in prison, began to intrigue for the crown. But she paid for it with her life on the recovery of Herod.

In order to banish his uneasy reflections, the tyrant, from thenceforth, indulged himself in every expensive enjoyment. He instituted all the Roman sports and customs, building at the same time the most magnificent theatres and amphitheatres for their exhibition. And as he entirely discountenanced the Jewish worship, he was supposed to be on the point of establishing idolatry. This idea having gone abroad, ten young Jews came to the determination of assassinating him. But a discovery taking place before it could be executed, they were put to death.

The informer against them was, however, torn in pieces by the populace; from whence Herod perceived the universal detestation in which he was held by his subjects. He, therefore, determined on the most sanguinary measures; not only putting to death such as were found to have been actually concerned in destroying the informer, but also their wives—their children—and all their relations. And to prevent the possibility of a revolt, he every where strengthened his forts and garrisons.

To this calamity of Herod's creating, nature, about the same time, added a most grievous pestilence and famine. On this occasion the tyrant seems to have changed his nature; for, having brought great quantities of corn from the neighbouring countries, he distributed it amongst his people. From the rest of his actions, it is indeed most probable, that this apparent humanity was selfish. And that he considered his subjects in the light of sheep or oxen, preserving them merely because they added wealth to his possessions.

Herod, though thus detested at home, found means to continue in the highest favour with Octavius—now Augustus Cæsar. And on sending his two sons, by the unfortunate Mariamne, to be educated at Rome, Cæsar not only lodged them in his own palace, but treated them with the most particular attention. Besides this, Augustus added some very considerable districts to the dominions of Herod; and though many accusations were made against him, they were always disregarded. Money at this time did every thing at Rome, and no man knew better how to apply it than the tyrant of Judea.

Herod himself had been equally rapacious in obtaining wealth, and lavish in its expenditure. Much had gone to Rome, but much more had been laid out on the public edifices, which were erected throughout his territories. He had built for himself a splendid palace at Jerusalem, and another at Herodian, about seven miles distant from the capital. At the source of the river Jordan, a superb temple was erected in honour of

Augustus Caesar; and a number of other structures every where decorated the land. But now, either to make a lasting monument of his greatness, or to soothe a people that abhorred him, or perhaps from both motives, he determined to rebuild the temple of Solomon on its original plan. Resolving, if possible, to make it exceed its former magnificence.

Before the temple, which had been built on their return from the Babylonish captivity, was thrown down, the priests, however, took care that all the materials for the new were exactly prepared. By this means it was erected in the same manner as that of Solomon's, without any chisel or tool of iron being used in putting the different articles together. And when finished, its amazing structure and ornaments became an object of admiration, even in those days of Roman grandeur.

After this great undertaking was commenced, Herod paid a visit to Rome, bringing back with him his sons by the unfortunate

Mariamne. Alexander, the eldest, was soon after married to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And Aristobulus, the younger, to Berenice, the daughter of Salome. These youths could not, however, refrain from accusing Salome of being the cause of their mother's execution. In return, that Princess meditated their destruction, in which she was joined by her brother Pheroras. By them Herod was induced to believe, that Alexander and Aristobulus plotted against his life; on which these youths were transmitted to Rome, where they were prosecuted before Augustus Cæsar. But the Emperor acquitted them, and for the present reconciled them to their father.

Herod not only ornamented his territories as already related, but he also added considerable cities in different quarters; particularly one on the Mediterranean, to which he gave the name of Cæsarea. By such vast expenditures, his finances were at length reduced to the lowest ebb. And as his sub-

jects were burthened more than they could well bear, he resolved to rifle the tombs of David and Solomon, which were supposed to contain immense riches. On opening them, he was however disappointed, and was proceeding to examine the coffins; but Josephus relates, that he was stopped by a miraculous fire, which destroyed two of his attendants. And as an atonement for this invasion of the dead, Herod erected a pillar of white marble near the entrance of the sepulchre.

Alexander and Aristobulus falling under fresh accusations, were again tried by Augustus. He now condemned them; at the same time leaving their punishment to their father's discretion. Herod, however, shewed them no mercy, and they perished by his orders. A new conspiracy soon after took place, at the head of which was Antipater, the favourite son of Herod, and Pheroras, Herod's brother, was also in the plot. On its being discovered, the latter poisoned himself, but Antipater, for the present, escaped,

being absent from Judea. Doris, his mother, was however banished, from a suspicion of her being privy, and another of Herod's wives received the same sentence, as she likewise was supposed to be concerned.

It was about this time that John the Baptist was born, and a few months afterwards the Saviour of the world. Jerusalem was put into an uproar in a short time subsequent to these events, by the arrival of some wise men from the East. They publicly declared, that they had seen the star of the new born king of the Jews, and enquired where he was, that they might worship him. This most dreadfully alarmed Herod, who considered the Messiah which was then expected, to be a temporal Prince, that would drive both him and his family from the Jewish throne. He therefore sent for the wisemen, carefully examining them touching their errand. And then concealing his real intentions, he ordered them to return as soon as they had found the royal infant; and acquaint

him where he was, that he also might go and pay his homage.

But the wisemen being divinely instructed, returned to the East by another way; and Herod thus disappointed in this his first scheme, had recourse to another. He gathered together the most intelligent of the Jewish Priests, demanding of them where the Messiah was to be born. Bethlem being the reply, the inhuman tyrant commanded that all the children of that district, under a certain age, should be destroyed. Which being executed, he had no doubt but Jesus was amongst the slain.

Herod was now seized with a disease, the consequence of which was like issuing from all parts of his body. And Josephus says, it was deemed by all as a judgment for the massacre at Bethlem. During his illness, which was lingering, a premature report of his death prevailing, a number of the Jews, headed by two, called Mattathias and Judas, began to destroy whatever appeared heathenish about Jerusalem; but being suppressed,

the two leaders were burned by order of Herod. His son, Antipater, who had fallen into his hands, was also executed; and the father expressed a savage joy on that occasion, though himself at the point of dissolution.

During his last illness, Herod had removed to Jericho, in hopes of benefiting by a change of situation. But finding his end inevitable, and well knowing how joyful it would be to his subjects, he determined on closing the scene with as horrid an act as ever disgraced his life. He directed, that all the principal men throughout his dominions should immediately repair to Jericho. As death would have been the consequence of disobedience, this order was complied with; and when they arrived, Herod caused them all to be shut up in the Circus. He next obtained a most solemn promise from his sister Salome, and her then husband, that they would put them to death the moment he expired. This he did, that a general mourning might take place at the time of his

decease. But either from policy or humanity, Salome caused the imprisoned Jews to be set at liberty the instant Herod was no more. The exact year in which he died is disputed. It was, however, before the sixth of the Christian *Æra*, at which time he could not have been less than seventy years of age.

Herod was one of the most worldly successful men in history. He was born a private subject, and that too of the Idumean race. Yet, when we take in the countries added by the Romans to his dominions, he was more powerful than any of the Jewish Princes subsequent to Solomon. Judea and all his territories were full of the noblest monuments of his greatness. Cities, palaces, and magnificent edifices were every where erected. And thus, at an outward glance, one might suppose Herod to have been amongst the most enviable of men. But view his life in its true colours, and then contemplate with horror the wretched Herod. Behold him with his hands dipt in the blood of Hyrcanus, the raiser of his father's fortunes and

his own. Dipt in the blood of Aristobulus, the lawful owner of the Jewish crown. Dipt in the blood of Mariamne, at once the object of his love and hatred. Dipt in the blood of multitudes of his friends, relations, and subjects. And, above all, dipt in the blood of innocent and helpless infancy. But suppose it even possible, that the reflections incident to such crimes could be suppressed; yet Herod was in constant apprehension of losing his ill got wealth and greatness. He knew he was universally hated by his subjects; and even in his own family he was not secure. His wives—his sons—his brother—plotted against his life and crown. His people every day evinced their inclination to revolt, and kept him in continual anxiety. Thus passed his most prosperous days; but towards the close of his life, the most poignant bodily complaints were added to his misery. And, at length, loaded with guilt and disease—detested by all—without one pleasing reflec-

tion as to the past—or one bright ray of hope as to the future—he sunk into eternity.

This is the true point of view in which we should behold such characters. It is not mere wealth—mere power—mere grandeur—that can in any shape bestow happiness. They may indeed give the means of superior enjoyment, as the possessor is thereby enabled to enlarge the felicity of others. Such sentiments of philanthropy renders an exalted station most truly desirable. But he who does not feel them, had better for ever remain in a state of obscurity.

Herod, by his last will, left the kingdom to his son Archelaus, whom he had by one of his wives, named Mariamne. But this bequest was to have no force, unless it was confirmed by Augustus Cæsar. As soon, therefore, as Archelaus had interred his father, which he did with great magnificence, he posted to Rome. And Salome likewise made application to Cæsar, both on her own account, and in behalf of Antipas and Philip,

who were sons of Herod by his wife Cleopatra.

After a little consideration, Augustus made the following distribution. To Archelaus he gave the government of Judea, Samaria Propria, and Idumæa; with a promise that the title of King should be added if he acquitted himself with propriety. Salome got a few cities to herself: Some more were added to the province of Syria; and the remainder of Herod's dominions were divided between Philip and Antipas.

Whilst this arrangement was adjusting, several tumults were raised and suppressed in Judea. But Archelaus's return by no means gave happiness to the countries committed to his care. Instead of obtaining the title of King, he behaved with so much impropriety, that Cæsar removed him from the government; Judea, Samaria Propria, and Idumæa from thenceforth becoming a Roman province. This being highly disagreeable to the Jews, one Judas, a robber, took the advan-

tage of their disaffection, and put himself at the head of a number of Banditti; he then declared, that he would redress all grievances, both civil and religious. And under these pretences, his troops, who were called Zealots, committed the most dreadful devastations.

Cyrenius, the Prefect of Syria, being ordered to superintend this new province, which was called Judea, sent Coponius to govern it. He quickly reduced it to obedience, and was succeeded, first by Ambivius, and then by Annius Rufus. But on the death of Augustus, in the year 14 or 15, Valerius Gracchus was nominated by the new Emperor Tiberius.

Ever since the commencement of Herod's reign, the High Priesthood had ceased to be either hereditary or for life. That office was extremely lucrative, and as it was now in the appointment of the governor, many changes took place. During Gracchus's administration, which lasted about eleven years, there were not less than five or six removals. And

under Pilate, who succeeded him about the year 26, this appointment seems to have become annual.

The competition hereby raised amongst the Jewish Priests was extremely detrimental to religion. Instead of exerting themselves in spiritual affairs, they were taken up in seeking the road to earthly grandeur and preferment. Indeed the doctrines of the Old Testament had, for a long time, been but little attended to; whilst outward forms, and subtle reasonings took their place, and created endless animosities. For besides the sects of Sadducees and Pharisees, there were others that were called Herodians, Gaulonites, and Essenians.

Added to these religious dissensions, Pilate most grievously oppressed the Jews. He not only openly despised their customs and ceremonies, but he plundered them by every species of rapine and extortion. And if any opposition was made, it was a sufficient ground for the most bloody executions. Such

was the wretched state of Judea, when Christ, in his thirtieth year, proclaimed his mission. And having wrought innumerable miracles, he was crucified, according to the common account, in the 33d year of his age; though Sir Isaac Newton supposes he was a year older, and gives very strong reasons for that opinion.

I shall not enlarge on the particulars of the Messiah's life and doctrines, because, as one professing his religion, you will, without doubt, carefully peruse and investigate those sacred pages. And I shall therefore confine myself to a few observations on that extraordinary event.

At the time of Christ's birth, the expectation of a wonderful Personage was not confined to the Jews alone. There was a general rumour throughout the world, that a child was then to be born, who should possess the empire of the earth. We have seen, that wisemen came from the east on this occasion, which is confirmed by Josephus, the celebrated Jewish historian. The Sybilline

Oracles are likewise said to have predicted it. And the senate of Rome, according to some accounts, were very near decreeing, that all the children, who should be brought forth, within a certain period, should be destroyed. In pursuance of this idea, Virgil, the celebrated Latin Poet, supposes this person to be the child of Pollio, his patron, and addressed a poem to him on that ground. But though I observe these things, it is from the Old Testament we fully find, that that Jesus who suffered under Pilate, was the true and undoubted Messiah.

In the first instance, Eve was told, that in the course of time, her seed should bruise the serpent's head. This promise was renewed to Abraham, the father of the Jewish nation. Then to Jacob, and afterwards to David, from whom the Messiah was to be lineally descended. The Jews, of all people, were most exact in their genealogies; therefore, when Augustus Cæsar issued an order, that the names of all the inhabitants of the Roman Empire should be taken, together with their

age, fortune, and situation; the Jews obeyed it, by going to the cities respectively belonging to the heads of their families. Bethlem was the city of David, to which Joseph and Mary accordingly repaired; and whilst they were there, Jesus was born. Joseph was sprung from David, and as the Jews always married one of their own stock, Mary was of the same lineage. Christ's being born of a Virgin, was foretold by Isaiah, the 7th chapter and 14th verse. His birth at Bethlem, and the manner of it, by Micah, 5th chapter and 2d verse. The massacre of the children by Herod, is in Jeremiah, 31st chapter and 15th verse. His riding into Jerusalem upon the colt of an ass, and Judas betraying him, together with the price of his blood, and the use the money should afterwards be put to, is in Zechariah, the 9th chapter and 9th and 10th verses, and the 11th chapter, 12th and 13th verses. The 16th Psalm, in the 8th, 9th, and 10th verses, foretells his miraculous resurrection. In the 16th, 17th, and 18th verses of the 22d

Pfalm, the parting his garments, and casting lots for his vesture, is described. And the 69th Pfalm and 21st verse, speaks of his getting gall and vinegar during his sufferings. Zechariah, in the 13th chapter and 6th verse, expresses his shewing his wounds after his resurrection. And in the 12th chapter and 10th verse, the same Prophet points out the particular grief of the house of David. The 53d chapter of Isaiah, gives a general account of all the sufferings of the promised Messiah. And the Paschal Lamb, instituted by Moses in remembrance of the children of Israel, being delivered out of Egypt, was an exact emblem of his death. For of it no bone was broke, and of Jesus no bone was broken.

Besides these, and several other prophecies descriptive of the Messiah, there were some that particularly pointed out the time when he was to be expected. It was foretold, that there should not want a Prince in Judah, nor a leader fail from Judah's loins, until he came for whom it was kept and

reserved, and who was to be the expectation of the Gentiles. Now Herod, under whose reign Christ was born, was an Idumean, whereas all the princes before him were sprung from Judah, and therefore the Jews then looked for their Messiah. Daniel had also prophesied as to the time in which it should happen.—Seventy weeks shall be cut out on the Jews and on the holy city, to make an end of sins, and to expiate the iniquity, and to consummate the vision and the Prophet, and to anoint the Most Holy.—Seventy weeks are 490 days, and all who have wrote on prophecy agree, that a day stands for a year. At the time that Daniel prophesied, the Jews were in captivity at Babylon, and their city utterly destroyed. This prophecy could not, therefore, commence until the holy city and the Jewish polity were restored. For these seventy weeks were to be cut out on them as a nation; and at the time Daniel wrote, they were no nation, but suffering under a captivity, which had been formerly foretold. They were not

again a state till the year 456 or 7 before Christ, when Ezra arrived at Jerusalem. For though there had been decrees before that time for rebuilding the temple and city, yet the laws and polity of the Jews were not reinstated till Ezra's arrival. And from thence to the death of Christ, which was the expiation for sin, is, according to all accounts, so nearly 490 years, that no doubt can remain, but Ezra's return, and the passion of the Messiah, was the beginning and ending of this prediction.

Nothing in history is better authenticated, than that all these prophecies were known to exist for some centuries before Christ. Nor was this knowledge confined to the Jews, for they were translated into the Greek language, and therefore open to all men of literature throughout the heathen world. And that there was a man, in the time of Tiberius, who called himself the Messiah, and in whose life and death these various prophecies were fulfilled, is testified by better and

more numerous witnesses than any event of all antiquity.

The life, the death, and the doctrines of Jesus being incontrovertible, but one question remains. It is, Whether He was or was not an impostor, fulfilling the prophecies by an exact compliance with them? Now you must in one moment see, that this was totally out of his own power. His father and mother must have been impostors, as to his birth. Herod must have been in the plot, in massacring the children. Judas in betraying him and hanging himself. The High-Priest and Sanhedrim in getting him executed. The soldiers in giving him gall and vinegar, and in parting his garments, and casting lots for his vesture. In short, multitudes who hated him, must have been in league with him; for it was by the acts of his most cruel enemies, that most of the prophecies were fulfilled. Jesus himself declared, that He should rise the third day. And as the High-Priest and others sealed up the sepulchre, and set a guard of soldiers over it,

how could the body be removed, without a miracle, or their connivance? It is indeed said, that the soldiers fell asleep, and the disciples came and stole it. But surely this must appear to deserve little credit, after the avowed pains taken to prevent the accomplishment of this short and well known prophecy. Jesus also foretold, that the veil of the temple, which, instead of a door, concealed at times the sacred implements of worship, should be rent in twain, which accordingly happened. And Josephus not only confirms this, but likewise adds, that on the day of his crucifixion, a sudden darkness and earthquake took place. In Eusebius Pamphilus's ecclesiastical history, who wrote about the time of Constantine the Great, it is also said, that Pilate transmitted so wonderful an account of Christ to Tiberius, that that Emperor was on the point of having him decreed a Roman deity; being only prevented, by what was called the presumption of the Christians, in calling him the son of God, before the senate of Rome had decreed it.

Let us now briefly enquire what were the doctrines taught by the Messiah? And if it was even possible that he was an impostor, what could have been his object? He preached an all seeing God, whom we should love and obey; and that we should do unto our neighbour, as we would our neighbour should do unto us. He preached a total disregard of this transitory world; and that the only pursuit worthy of a wise man was futurity. The poor, not the rich, were particularly attended to; and instead of attempting to obtain either wealth or honours, he offended all those who had the power to bestow them. He taught that forgiveness of injuries, was one of the most acceptable branches of our duty. And in his own sufferings, he added example to his precepts—praying for those who were leading him to death—and weeping for the destruction which he foresaw was to fall on Jerusalem. Had Jesus thought proper to have assumed the title of King, you will see, from what follows, that he would soon have been at the head of a very power-

ful army. But in order to prove and establish, that he was indeed the promised Mediator, and that his design was to lead men to Eternal life.—He lived in humility—was a man of sufferings and sorrow—And, to crown all, he sealed his sincerity and mission with his blood.

Why the great body of the Jews disbelieved, is at first sight wonderful. But when we consider their then state, that wonder will be no more. They were, at this time, in general, a most corrupt and profligate people. And as is the case with every wicked individual, they had no idea of any happiness but what this world was to bestow. All their prophets are full of two comings of the Messiah. The one a state of suffering and humiliation—the other, a state of the highest exaltation, when Judea is to become the greatest country of the earth. Now the Jews, being entirely taken up with worldly prospects, construed the prophets only as to this state of prosperity. So humble a man as Jesus, the son of a Carpenter, therefore,

offended their pride. And as He taught only the necessity of virtue, to be entitled hereafter to his kingdom, without making any effort for the present to restore the Jewish power, it was contrary to all their expectations. They therefore slew him. And thus in the very moment that they denied and crucified Jesus, they fulfilled some of those prophecies, which fully proved him to be the promised Messiah.

SECOND LETTER.

ABOUT the year 140, Demetrius Nicator was seated on the throne of Syria. His vices and cruelties rendered him odious to his subjects, and Antiochus Theos, the infant son of Alexander Balas, being set up by Tryphon, a Syrian general, Demetrius was deposed. But Tryphon's object was to aggran-

dize himself, and dispatching the young Antiochus, he usurped the Syrian diadem.

Demetrius Nicator, when driven from Syria, was favourably received by the posterity of the Macedonians, who had settled in Persia and Bactria. And though these countries had been subjected by the Parthians, he proceeded to levy forces for the recovery of the Syrian crown. But Mithridates, the monarch of Parthia, soon after took him prisoner; treating him, however, in a manner suitable to his rank, and bestowing on him one of his daughters in marriage.

Cleopatra, who was before this the wife of Nicator, on hearing of his captivity and new marriage, became the queen of Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Nicator, and who now assumed the title of King of Syria. By him Tryphon was driven from the throne, though what became of him is uncertain; and Sidetes then marched against the Parthians. The Assyrians and Babylonians immediately flocked to his standards; and proving successful in many engagements, most of

those countries which had formerly been subject to Syria, were recovered. But Phraha-tes, who had succeeded to the Parthian throne, by his prudent management, gave a new turn to affairs; cutting off Antiochus with all his forces, whilst they thought themselves secure in those quarters which they had chosen for the winter. The consequence of which was, that all that had been lost was again united to the Parthian empire.

A little before this success against Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius Nicator had been set at liberty, that he might create a diversion by reclaiming the crown of Syria; and now, by the death of his brother, he was reinstated in the regal power. At this time Egypt was disturbed by domestic dissensions, in which Nicator took part against Ptolemy Physcon. Physcon, however, proving victorious, revenged himself by setting up one Alexander Zebina, who pretended to be the son of Alexander Balas, as the true king of Syria. And Nicator, who had again become odious, being able to make little or no re-

sistance, was, in a short time, deprived both of his dominions and his life.

Cleopatra, who had been the wife of Nicator and Sidetes, was, at this period, mistress of a considerable territory. She, therefore, proclaimed Seleucus, her eldest son by Nicator, as the successor of his father. This prince, however, claiming more power than his inhuman mother was disposed to allow him, she slew him with her own hand, transferring the regal dignity to his full brother Antiochus Grypus. Grypus then took the field against Alexander Zebina. But the latter, by his correct conduct, had so ingratiated himself with most of the Syrians, that no progress was at first made against him. At length, Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, quarrelled with Zebina; and giving a daughter to Grypus in marriage, so effectual a change took place, that Alexander was defeated and slain.

Antiochus Grypus was now become odious to his mother, for the same reasons that caused the death of Seleucus. She therefore

attempted to poison him, but being detected, she was forced to end her days by the mixture she had herself prepared. For some years Grypus peaceably possessed the regal dignity, till at length his half-brother, Antiochus Cyzicenus attempted to dethrone him. This contest being attended with various success, they at length agreed to a division of the Syrian dominions. By it, Cyzicenus got Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, making Damascus the seat of government. The rest belonged to Grypus, who continued Antioch as his capital. And both immediately abandoned themselves to the most vicious and effeminate enjoyments, during which the Jews wrested several places from these weak and insignificant monarchs.

But peace did not long continue between these voluptuous brothers. And in the civil war that followed, several of their principal cities, despising the conduct of both, became independent under pretty princes of their own election. Grypus was at length slain by one of his subjects, on which Seleucus, the

eldest of five sons whom he had left behind him, took possession of his sceptre. Cyzicenus did not long survive his competitor Grypus, when his crown devolved on his son Antiochus Eusebes. Between him and Seleucus the war was carried on with fresh vigour. And the latter was in a short time defeated and slain by his more successful opponent.

This, however, by no means concluded this destructive civil war. Antiochus and Philip, the two next brothers of Seleucus, and who were twins, put themselves at the head of his forces. But Antiochus almost immediately losing his life, the sole authority vested in Philip. He proved successful against Eusebes, driving him out of the Syrian territories, and obliging him to seek for shelter amongst the Parthians.

Whilst the contest lasted with Eusebes, Demetrius Eucherus, the fourth son of Grypus, and brother to Philip, had seized on Damascus, and its territories. Philip, therefore, turned his arms against him. In

this he proved also victorious. And in a short time after his brother Demetrius died in captivity.

The return of Eusebes from Parthia created new disturbances; during which, Antiochus Dionysius, the fifth son of Grypus, seized on Damascus. Some time after he fell in battle with the Arabs. But the contest continuing between Eusebes and Philip, the Syrians resolved to obtain domestic peace by abandoning both, and choosing a powerful King who was able to protect them. They, therefore, solicited Tigranes, King of Armenia, to accept their crown. This he complied with, and we hear no more of Philip or his competitor. Selene, the wife of Eusebes, however, retained a part of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, giving a suitable education to her sons Antiochus Asiaticus, and Seleucus Cybiosactes. But foolishly seeking to add to her territories, without the means of success, she was made a prisoner, and put to death by order of Tigranes.

For fourteen years Tigranes governed Syria,

by a Lieutenant, till he was so hard pressed by the Romans, as to recall all his forces from that country. Antiochus Asiaticus thereupon assumed the regal government; which he exercised for about four years. Pompey then laid claim to Syria, in right of his conquering Tigranes; and Asiaticus being totally unable to contend with the Romans, was obliged to relinquish his pretensions. The consequence of which was, that Syria became a province to Rome, 57 years before the Christian Era.

The next kingdom I shall treat of is that of Bergamus.—In the year 140 Attalus the 2d possessed its sceptre. In the year 138, he was succeeded by his nephew of the same name, who was the son of Eumenes, the elder brother of Attalus the 2d, but had been set aside on account of his minority. And his uncle had the generosity to leave the crown to him, though he himself had male issue at his death.

This preference was extremely unfortunate

for the Pergameans. Attalus the 3d became a most detestable monster, rather than a man, sacrificing his nearest relations, and many of the wisest and best of his subjects. To this rage for blood a melancholy state of mind succeeded, in which he thought himself haunted by those whom he had caused to be unjustly slaughtered; and he sequestered himself from all society. But even in solitude he found means to exercise his horrid dispositions, by raising poisonous plants, of which he prepared potions for such as he chose to destroy. From this employment he passed to working at a forge, with the intention of raising a brazen statue to his mother. A fever was however the consequence, which in the year 133 cut short the days of this abominable monster.

By his last will, all his goods were bequeathed to the Republic of Rome. This being construed by the Romans to include the kingdom of Pergamus, they declared it a province, by the name of Asia-Propria. But Aristonicus, half-brother to Attalus, did not

quietly submit to this injustice; and he was so successful in his first efforts, as to make himself master of the whole kingdom. He was, however, unworthy of Royalty, for instead of securing his territories, he abandoned himself to all kinds of dissipation, which ended in his being defeated and taken prisoner. Notwithstanding this the Pergameans, for some time, defended their strongest fortresses; till at length, in the year 129, they were entirely subdued. By which means the greatest part of Asia-Minor was annexed to the Roman empire.

Of the two Armenias, there is nothing remarkable till the reign of Tigranes, surnamed the Great. He was a prisoner in Parthia, when, by the death of his father in the year 95, he became entitled to the crown of Armenia-Major; though he was obliged to part with some of his territories, in order to procure his liberty. He then connected himself with Mithridates Eupator, King of Pontus, by marrying his daughter. And he soon

after began to display that enterprising disposition for which he became so remarkable.

Cappadocia was the first object of his ambition; from whence he drove Ariobarzanes its king, and made himself master of his dominions. Syria soon after voluntarily put itself under his government: Armenia Minor, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and several of the countries adjacent to them, likewise submitted to his arms. He also regained what the Parthians had extorted from him when their prisoner. Elated by such vast successes, he assumed the title of King of Kings. And a number of petty princes, who acknowledged themselves his tributaries, were employed as servants by this haughty monarch.

Mithridates, his father-in-law, having been engaged in a war with Rome, was driven from his dominions, and forced to take shelter in Armenia. On this the Roman Proconsul, Lucullus, demanded the King of Pontus from Tigranes, but the latter positively refused to deliver him up. And he, at the same time, put the prince of the Gordians,

(a people he had subjected) together with his family, to death, for having entered into a private correspondence with the Romans.

Tigranes knew that a war with Rome was now become inevitable. He therefore sent Mithridates into Pontus to raise forces in that quarter; at the same time that he himself took the field against Lucullus. His forces were far superior in number to the Romans; but the latter defeated him in his first engagement. Though joined by Mithridates, he was equally unfortunate in another action that took place. A favourable change happened on Pompey being appointed in the room of Lucullus. It was however a very temporary respite; Tigranes being, in a short time, obliged to throw himself on the clemency of the Roman commander. Pompey then allowed him to retain Armenia-Major, with a part of Mesopotamia, as a kingdom tributary to Rome. At the same time obliging him to pay a large sum of money to atone for the war he had engaged in.

And Armenia-Minor from this time had its distinct princes, who held it in subjection to the Roman empire.

In the year 140 Mithridates the 6th reigned over the kingdom of Pontus. He became the ally of Rome, and when other neighbouring states sided with Aristonicus, he remained faithful to that engagement; for which he was rewarded with a part of the Pergamean territories.

In the year 124 Mithridates the 7th succeeded to the crown of Pontus. He was then only 13 years of age, yet he already gave signs of a great military capacity; but a cruel disposition was likewise apparent. When he attained to manhood, he began with attacking Paphlagonia, though it had been before declared a free state by the Romans. This was considered as hostile to that republic, who therefore sent ambassadors to Pontus. Mithridates, however, not only treated them with contempt, but soon after made himself master of Galatia, which was also under the protection of Rome.

Ariarathes, the cotemporary king of Cappadocia, had married the sister of Mithridates. But no tie could stop his ambitious purposes; for casting his eyes on this country for one of his own sons, he procured the murder of Ariarathes. He then most treacherously slew the nephew, who was the next successor. And another nephew, having in vain attempted to gain the crown, died of grief, with whom the regal line of Cappadocia became extinct.

The infamous Mithridates now thought he had secured his purpose. But Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who was at enmity with him, gave him fresh trouble. This he did, by setting up a young man of parts and address, as the son of Ariarathes; at the same time sending him to Rome to solicit the aid of that republic. Though Mithridates had so lately insulted the Roman ambassadors, he now thought proper to solicit them against this impostor. But he was no farther successful, than that the republic declared Cap-

padocia a free state, under their protection. And L. Cornelius Sylla was dispatched into Asia, with orders to support the election of whoever they should choose to reign over them.

The Cappadocians accordingly raised one of their nobility, named Ariobarzanes, to the vacant throne. But Sylla was scarcely retired, when Mithridates drove Ariobarzanes from his new elevation, and placed his own son, Ariarathes, in his stead. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, dying about the same time, the king of Pontus also forced his successor to abandon the sceptre, which was then given to Chrestus, the brother of Mithridates. The Romans were so irritated at this, that orders were sent to all their forces and allies in Asia to reinstate the deposed kings. And Mithridates not thinking himself sufficiently prepared, thought proper to avert this attack, by withdrawing his son and brother from their new dignities. But the Romans in their turn resolved on hostilities, desiring the re-established kings to enter the territo-

ries of Mithridates. And after a few frivolous negotiations, war was actually declared.

Mithridates was joined by almost all the Asiatic princes, who began to perceive the settled and progressive plan of conquest pursued by Rome. Cassius, who had the chief power in Asia on the part of the Romans, therefore found his exertions in vain. Mithridates was every where successful; till at length he made himself master of all the Roman cities and fortresses throughout Asia. At the same time possessing himself of immense treasures in consequence of his repeated victories.

There were at this time vast numbers of Romans and Italians who had settled in Asia. They were of course odious to the Asiatics, who considered them as usurpers on their rights. Mithridates, who was naturally cruel, likewise knew they must be secret enemies to him. He therefore resolved on their utter extirpation, for which purpose private orders were given, to the different governors, to begin a general massacre on an

appointed day, without respect to age or sex. And at the same time an edict was issued, punishing those who should conceal, and rewarding such as should discover and betray them. These inhuman directions were too well obeyed, 150,000 persons perishing on this occasion. And their wealth being confiscated, added greatly to the treasures already amassed by Mithridates.

This fatal catastrophe happened in the year 88; soon after which, Mithridates having no enemies to oppose him in Asia, resolved to attack the island of Rhodes, where L. Cassius had retired. He was however defeated at sea; and a second attempt being equally unsuccessful, Mithridates returned to Pergamus, which he had made the seat of his empire.

Not contented with having expelled the Romans out of Asia, Mithridates now sent a powerful army into Europe, under the command of his general Archelaus. It was followed by other forces, till in a short time Greece, Macedon, Thrace, and most of the

islands in the Archipelago, acknowledged Mithridates for their master. And that conqueror elated with such victories, talked of invading Italy itself.

But it was entirely owing to the civil dissensions, which at that time distracted Rome, that such losses were sustained by that republic. And roused by the approach of danger, Sylla was dispatched into Greece with a considerable army. L. Lucullus was appointed by him to the command of the fleet which was to co-operate. This produced a very speedy change in the Roman affairs. Sylla began with defeating Archelaus at Charonea. Other victories followed with the utmost rapidity, in which no quarter was given, on account of the massacre in Asia. And having regained all that had been lost in Europe, he prepared to pass over into Asia-Minor.

But Sylla's enemies at Rome prevailed on the Senate, already jealous of his greatness, to send Valerius Flaccus, one of the Consuls, to command in Asia. As he knew nothing of war, C. Fimbria, an excellent soldier, was

to serve under, and in fact to govern him. This situation, however, soon produced a quarrel, and Fimbria having put the Consul to death, took the command upon himself, in which the Senate afterwards confirmed him. Such was his success, that Mithridates having been forced to abandon Pergamus, took shelter in the city of Prizanz; where he would have fallen into the hands of Fimbria, but that Lucullus refused to block up that port with the Roman fleet. By which means Mithridates escaped by sea, before Prizanz was obliged to surrender.

Though Lucullus would not act with Fimbria, who was of the opposite faction to Sylla, he soon after beat the fleets of Mithridates in two different engagements; which, added to the great losses sustained by land, so humbled that monarch, that he solicited peace from Sylla, and obtained it on the following terms. — That he should relinquish all his conquests, and confine himself to his native dominions. He was also to deliver up eighty ships, fully equipped, for the service of the Romans,

besides paying them a very large sum of money. There were some other articles of little consequence. And in the year 85, thus ended the first Mithridatic war.

At this time Marius's party carried every thing at Rome, and Sylla, having transported his forces to Asia, resolved to subdue Fimbria. When the two Roman armies approached each other, the fame of Sylla, however, induced the soldiers of Fimbria to desert to his standards. And Fimbria having attempted, in vain, to get Sylla assassinated, put an end to his own existence.

Sylla having seen peace re-established in Asia, left Muræna to command as Prætor; he himself repairing to Italy with 40,000 victorious soldiers. He was no sooner gone, than Muræna meditated a renewal of the war with Mithridates. This he easily accomplished, on which the king of Pontus exerted himself in raising fresh armies, and equipping a considerable fleet. But after many struggles, Muræna, and Lucullus, who was Quæstor to Sylla, proved victorious; Pontus it-

self being taken from Mithridates. That unfortunate king then took shelter in Armenia; the consequence of which was, the war with Tigranes, which has been already related.

On Pompey's succeeding Lucullus, Mithridates, after some engagements, sought an asylum in the kingdom of Colchis. Thither Pompey pursued him, having first made peace with Tigranes, on the terms you have read in my account of Armenia. But Mithridates retreating into Scythia, the Roman General in vain endeavoured to overtake him. And after losing a number of men in this expedition, he returned to Pontus. He there reduced several strong places, and possessed himself of immense treasures. After which he marched with the most of his forces into the province of Syria.

Mithridates no sooner knew that Pompey was withdrawn from Pontus, than he privately returned to that country. There he secretly raised fresh forces, and at length appeared once more at the head of a powerful

army. Several places were retaken by him, and there was some little prospect of retrieving his affairs; but his cruelties in his own family, and amongst his own people, had so estranged the affections of his soldiers, that they now proclaimed his son Pharnaces for their king. This was a stroke that Mithridates was not able to bear, and having poisoned his wives, concubines and children, who were then with him, he put an end to his life. Such was the fate of Mithridates the Great, who had been more fatal to the Romans than any other of their opponents at this period of their empire.

Pharnaces, on the death of his father, immediately dispatched ambassadors to Pompey, submitting himself to the will of the Romans. The rejoicings in the camp, and afterwards at Rome, on the news of Mithridates's death, were excessive; so formidable was this enemy esteemed. As for Pontus, it was turned into a Roman province. Pompey, however, gratified Pharnaces, by giving him the kingdom of Bosphorus.

In the civil war which followed between Cæsar and Pompey, Pharnaces the 2d, who had succeeded to the crown of Bosphorus, made himself master of Pontus. But Cæsar, after settling the affairs of Egypt, marched against him, and totally defeated him. It was on this occasion that he gave the concise account to the Senate of his success, by the words *Veni, vidi, vici*; *I came, I saw, I conquered*. Pontus was again governed as a province, till after the battle of Philippi, at which time Antony gave its crown to Darius, the son of that Pharnaces whom Julius Cæsar had subdued. This was a reward for his having sided with the Triumvirate; and it continued a tributary kingdom till after my present Era.

Arabia, from the wandering state of its inhabitants, though often attacked, was never really subdued; but, as yet, there is nothing of consequence in its history. Of the other states, which had formerly composed the Persian empire, they were all either in the nature of provinces, or their princes were

tributary to Rome, except what were subject to the monarchs of Parthia. We know nothing of the Indians, the Chinese, or those wild nations that inhabited the North-East of Asia, and which were generally known by the name of Scythians, or Tartars. I shall therefore conclude this letter with an account of the Parthian state, which, at the death of Christ, may be said to be the only power that could contend against the Roman arms.

The Parthian empire, at the commencement of this Era, had Bactra, Media, Persia, Elymra, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia for its component parts. Mithridates, the 1st, was then its king, who was distinguished for his courage, abilities, and amiable dispositions. And he governed by a code of laws, which are said to have been well calculated for the happiness of his people.

Phrahates the second was his successor, and is only remarkable for several wars with the Scythians and Syrians. The next king was Artabanus the first, who after a very short

reign was followed by Pacorus the first. He proved a successful prince, regaining whatever had been lost by his predecessors; and entered into an alliance with Rome. His successor, Phrahates the third, was murdered by his own children Orodes and Mithridates, who then disputed for the crown; which ending in the death of Mithridates, Orodes was established on the throne.

In the year 55 a war broke out, for the first time, between the Parthian and the Roman powers. Orodes, by his ambassadors to M. Licinius Crassus, who governed the province of Syria, did all he could to prevent it. But Crassus, who wantonly began this quarrel, would listen to no accommodation. He had already plundered Syria, Judea, and the other parts committed to his care; and though he had amassed vast treasures, his unbounded avarice was far from being satisfied. This was the secret spring that led him to the invasion of the Parthians; for that empire was considered as full of wealth and riches. And Crassus supposing the Roman

arms to be invincible, had already, in imagination, grasped them as his own.

Mesopotamia was first attacked by the Romans, and though at the beginning many places fell to them, Surenas, Orodes's general, retook the most of them, displaying uncommon skill and courage. Crassus then advanced in person, and a variety of actions took place, in which the Romans found they had a new kind of enemy to deal with. The Parthians served mostly on horseback, using bows and arrows, with which they fought equally well advancing or retreating. In the end Crassus was totally defeated, at a place called Carrhæ, soon after which he himself lost his life in attempting to get back to Syria. In this ill-judged expedition 30,000 fell on the part of the Romans, besides 10,000 being taken prisoners. And Cassius, the Lieutenant of Crassus, with great difficulty made good his flight, at the head of a very inconsiderable body of his countrymen.

Surenas gained great applause from his repeated victories. This however proved his

ruin, for Orodes, jealous of the esteem in which he was held by the army, had him put to death. Pacorus, the king's son, then took the command, leading his forces into the province of Syria. Though Cassius was very ill prepared for such a visit, he exerted himself with so much vigour, as to force the enemy to retire. A second attempt made by Pacorus proved equally unsuccessful; after which Cassius returned to Rome. And from thence nothing material happened, till after the death of Julius Cæsar, who was on the point of setting out to revenge the battle of Carrhæ, when he was stabbed by Cassius and the rest of the conspirators.

When the Triumvirate established their power at Rome, by the defeat of the conspirators, the eastern provinces were allotted to Antony. He thereupon sent Saxe, as his Lieutenant, into Syria. But the Syrians having been grievously oppressed by the Romans, called the Parthians to their aid, and openly revolted. By this junction, the Roman forces in that quarter were defeated;

on which not only Syria, but Phœnice, and a part of Asia-Minor, were over-run by the Parthians. They likewise plundered Jerusalem, and placed Antigonus upon the throne of Judea, as has been elsewhere related.

Roused by these misfortunes, Antony sent Ventidius as his Lieutenant to Asia, with a more powerful army. He gave a new complexion to affairs; gaining so decisive a victory over the Parthians, as to force them to abandon all their conquests. And this battle took place exactly fourteen years after the defeat of Crassus at Carrhæ.

Antony, jealous of the success of his deputy, soon after took the command in person, marching into the Parthian provinces; but his conduct of this war was so imprudent, that he lost a great part of his forces. And reaching Syria with the remnant of his army, he set out for Egypt to his beloved Cleopatra. From this time Phraates, who had gained the Parthian crown, by murdering his father Orodes, continued unmolested by the Romans; having, during the civil

Wars which followed, between Antony and Octavius Cæsar, rather extended than diminished his territories.

Phraates had added to his parricide, the murder of his brothers, and even a son of his own, besides all others whom he suspected. By these bloody acts he became justly odious, and being driven from his throne, one Tiridates was raised to the diadem. This produced a civil war, in which sometimes one and sometimes the other swayed the sceptre; whilst both endeavoured to obtain the aid of Octavius, now Augustus Cæsar. At length that Emperor entered into a treaty with Phraates, by which all the prisoners taken at Carrhæ, and all the Roman ensigns, were restored. There were also other engagements as to the future conduct of the Parthians, for the fulfilling of which, four sons of the king were sent as hostages to Rome, together with their wives and children. By these means Phraates regained the crown, and Parthia was undisturbed by the Romans during my present Æra. It was however dis-

tracted by several civil dissensions and contests for the crown; the relation of which would be totally useless in this general view of the world and of mankind.

THIRD LETTER.

PTOLEMY Physcon, who had obtained the throne of Egypt by the inhuman means related in my last *Æra*, pursued his bloody course. He cut off all who had been his enemies, or whom he supposed might prove so. He likewise destroyed those to whom he had been most obliged for his promotion. His soldiers were allowed and encouraged to commit the most horrid outrages in Alexandria; and most of its inhabitants flying into other countries, their place was supplied by strangers. This had however one good effect, as to mankind at large. Alexandria was sa-

mous for the men of literature who resided there; and by their being thus dispersed, their knowledge was diffused into different quarters of the world.

Physcon, by various cruelties, became at length so odious, that his subjects expelled him, at the same time conferring the crown on Cleopatra, his brother's widow, whom he had married, but afterwards divorced. To this he did not tamely submit, and in the end Physcon got himself restored. At his death he bequeathed the kingdom of Cyrene to Apion, his natural son. And he left Egypt to his wife Cleopatra, the daughter of that Cleopatra whom he first married; at the same time ordering her to associate one of the two sons she had borne him in the government. In obedience to this, Cleopatra honoured her youngest son Alexander with that appointment. But the people obliged her to revoke it in favour of Lathyrus, the eldest, and Alexander was then nominated to the kingdom of Cyprus, that island being subject to the Egyptian royal family.

Though Cleopatra was obliged, for a short time, to submit to this arrangement, it was not long till she found means to reverse it, and for some time Lathyrus, in vain, attempted to be restored; till at length Cleopatra quarrelling with Alexander, and, as it is said, attempting to destroy him, was herself put to death. Alexander, by the murder of his mother, becoming extremely odious, was soon after slain, leaving one son of his own name behind him; and Lathyrus was now replaced upon the throne of Egypt.

Apion having governed Cyrene for twenty-one years, at his death bequeathed it to the republic of Rome. This he did, that he might save it from similar troubles to those which had afflicted Egypt. And the Romans, contenting themselves with a small tribute for the present, left the Cyreneans to their own laws and regulations, which are not however particularly recorded.

In Egypt, Lathyrus died about the year 76, leaving the crown to his daughter Bere-

nice, who thereupon assumed the name of Cleopatra. Alexander, the nephew of Lathyrus, had taken shelter at Rome, where Sylla was then Dictator; and having obtained his protection, he openly asserted his right to the throne of Egypt. In order to prevent the impending civil war, a match was made between him and Cleopatra, whom he basely murdered in nineteen days after their nuptials. He was, however, suffered to reign for fifteen years, when his vices and evil government made his subjects expel him; and they at the same time bestowed the vacant diadem on Ptolemy Auletes, who was a natural son of Lathyrus. As for Alexander, he fled to Tyre, from whence he solicited the Roman aid. But dying before he could obtain it, he bequeathed all his dominions to that republic. By virtue of which, the Romans afterwards seized the island of Cyprus, though they did not think proper to put in their claim to the kingdom of Egypt.

Ptolemy Auletes had indeed taken the most effectual means to secure his crown from

their encroachments; having bribed Julius Cæsar and Pompey, who were the then leading men at Rome, with the enormous sum of 1,162,500 pounds of our money. He however lost the affections of his own subjects, by the exactions he was obliged to make; and, driving him out, they gave the sovereignty to his daughter Berenice. She first married Seleucus Cybiosactes, of the Syrian royal family, and who was the next male heir to the Egyptian, his mother Selene being a daughter of Physcon's. But Cybiosactes was so deformed both in mind and body, that Berenice, detesting the connexion, caused him to be strangled. After which she united herself to one Archelaus, who pretended to be the son of Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, though he was in reality the offspring of one of his principal officers.

Anletes, on being deposed, repaired to Rome, carrying with him what money he could; with which, and what he was able to raise on the faith of his being restored, he

bribed a majority of the Senate. On the other hand, Archelaus and Berenice dispatched one hundred ambassadors to plead their cause. On their approach, Auletes caused most of them to be assassinated, which not only passed with impunity, but the venal Senate soon after decreed that Auletes should be restored. On this C. Porcius Cato, then a tribune, had the Sybilline oracles consulted, where it was found, or pretended to be found, that if a deposed king of Egypt should apply to them for aid, Rome might assist him, but not with arms.

This was a terrible stroke to Auletes. He had, however, secured the attachment of Pompey, and a mode was privately struck out that procured his restoration. Pompey wrote to Gabinius, a creature of his, who commanded in Asia, to assist the Egyptian monarch. He also applied to Caius Rabirius Posthumius, a Roman Knight of immense wealth, to advance what money was necessary. And, I think, from the usury Posthumius took, and the sums paid to Ga-

binus, that Pompey was to be a sharer in the spoils.

When Auletes arrived in Asia, Gabinius, who was remarkably avaricious, notwithstanding Pompey's letter, refused to assist, till 5000 talents were paid down to him. This was borrowed at an enormous interest from Posthumius, who attended in person; besides which, Gabinius was to have as much more if successful. This being settled, Archelaus was soon after defeated and slain, by means of the Roman arms.—And Auletes being fully re-established, Gabinius having left a garrison in Alexandria, returned to the province of Syria.

Auletes, on his restoration, put to death his daughter Berenice, together with vast numbers of his subjects. Those who were remarkable for their riches were sure to perish, that he might possess himself of their treasures. And the Alexandrians, awed by the Roman garrison, tamely bore with these oppressions; though at this very time, the

superstitious mob tore a Roman foldier to pieces for killing a cat, which they deemed sacred.

Rabirius Posthumius applying to be repaid, Auletes put him in possession of the revenues of the kingdom. This was however only a sineffe, and the knight finding himself in danger of losing his life by the underhand schemes of the king, saved himself by flight. Added to this disappointment, Rabirius, on his return to Rome, found himself accused of assisting Auletes with money to bribe the Senate, besides sharing in the 10,000 talents paid to Gabinius. He escaped, but Gabinius was banished at the instance of Cicero, though he had expended the vast sums he had unjustly amassed in bribes to venal senators.

Auletes dying in the year 31, left two sons named Ptolemy, and as many daughters, called Cleopatra and Arfinoe. The kingdom was to go to his oldest son and daughter, who, according to the custom of Egypt, were to intermarry. And the execution of his will he committed to the Roman people,

by whom Pompey was ordered to take the guardianship of the children of Auletes.

But Ptolemy, instead of marrying Cleopatra his sister, obliged her to fly. She then raised a powerful army, which was opposed by another equally formidable, both encamping in the neighbourhood of Pelusium. Whilst they remained in this situation, Pompey having lost the battle of Pharsalia, arrived off the Egyptian coast. And not doubting of shelter from the son of Auletes, he applied to Ptolemy, but was basely murdered by the advice of that young king's ministers. Almost immediately after this vile transaction, Julius Cæsar, who was in pursuit of his rival, arrived in Alexandria, where, being detained by contrary winds, he, in the name of the Roman people, entered into an adjustment of the differences which subsisted between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

Alexandria was in the possession of Ptole-

my, and Cleopatra not daring to enter that city openly, got herself conveyed to it on board a vessel by night. A faithful slave then carried her in a sack to Julius Cæsar's residence, most agreeably surprizing that conqueror with a visit from the most charming woman he had ever beheld. She was then only eighteen, and, as she intended, she secured Cæsar in her interest by the impression she made on his heart; nor did she refuse him any favours that were in her power to bestow.

There were some tumults raised in Alexandria on account of the interference of Cæsar. They, however, appeared to be not only pacified, but the people were greatly rejoiced at a declaration which was now made, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should be married, and reign jointly according to the will of their father. And Cæsar also allotted Cyprus, which had been for some time possessed by the Romans, to the youngest Ptolemy and his sister Arsinoë.

But this arrangement was entirely against

the inclinations of Plothinus, the favourite minister of Ptolemy. He had been extremely active in the banishment of Cleopatra, and perhaps with justice dreaded her having any share in the administration. By his schemes he therefore raised up jealousies in the mind of his master, probably not omitting the connexion that had taken place between Cæsar and Cleopatra. The army of the latter seems to have been before this disbanded, as Achilles, who commanded the forces of Ptolemy, invested Alexandria without opposition. Ptolemy, however, denied that it was with his approbation, and Cæsar being led to believe that he would raise the siege, was induced to set him at liberty. But in this he proved mistaken, for the exertions of the Egyptians from that moment became more vigorous than ever.

Cæsar had seldom been in so precarious a situation; the Roman forces which were with him being very few in number. He, however, by his judicious conduct on the outset of the business, made up for their deficiency.

Having strongly fortified himself, so as to prevent all surprise, he dispatched messengers by sea into Asia, to his Generals and Governors in that quarter, ordering them to hasten to his relief. And when the enemy were almost on the point of taking Alexandria, those forces appeared on the frontiers of Egypt.

When this intelligence was brought to Ptolemy, he, from necessity, broke up the siege, in order to oppose them. The intrepid Cæsar thereupon left the city, by his judicious manœuvres accomplishing a junction with his friends before an engagement took place. The consequence of which was, the defeat and death of Ptolemy.

The crown, by this victory, was firmly settled on the head of Cleopatra; who was now to marry her surviving brother, then only eleven years old. For the present, however, she yielded herself up to the caresses of Cæsar, who returned to Alexandria, abandoning himself to all manner of pleasures. And when, at length, he was forced from Egypt on state affairs, he left a considerable

body of Romans behind him, for the protection of his mistress.

The infamous, though charming Cleopatra, secured the whole power by poisoning her brother, as soon as he attained his fourteenth year. The next thing memorable in her history, was her sailing from Egypt to Cilicia, to form an alliance with Antony, after the battle of Philippi. Antony was then at Tarsus, on the river Cydnus, to which place Cleopatra was conveyed in a magnificent galley that beggared description. Her attendants, and every thing about her, was sumptuous beyond expression; but her own Person and charms were superior to all. And the amorous Antony was so infatuated by her allurements, that she from thenceforth retained the most absolute dominion over him, even to the latest hour of his life.

Having returned to Alexandria, she was soon followed by Antony, who neglecting all his affairs, gave himself up to Cleopatra and the most excessive round of pleasures. At length necessity forced him to Rome, where,

from political motives, he married the Sister of Octavius Cæsar. But his affections were all along with Cleopatra; and having very soon tired of his virtuous wife, he again repaired to Alexandria.

To atone for his short neglect of Cleopatra, Antony now added the kingdoms of Cyrene, Cyprus, Cœle Syria, Ituræa, Phœnicia, and a part of Arabia Petræa to her dominions, besides a small district which he took from Herod, king of Judea. After this he went against Artabazus, king of Armenia, and having conquered him, he returned to Egypt in triumph. He then proclaimed Cæsarion, whom Cleopatra had borne to Julius Cæsar, king of Cyprus and Egypt, in conjunction with his mother; at the same time providing for two sons and a daughter, which she had to himself. To Alexander, the eldest son, he gave Armenia, and as soon as Parthia, and the other eastern countries, from the Euphrates to India, were subdued, they were also to be added. Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second son, was to have all Asia-Minor.

Both of these Princes were stiled King of Kings; and Cleopatra, his daughter, was to succeed to Cyrene and Lybia. Having thus adjusted their children's portions, Cleopatra and Antony assumed the dress and characters of Isis and Osiris; at the same time receiving such divine honours as were paid by the Egyptians to those Deities.

Octavius Cæsar had, without doubt, great and just cause of complaint against Antony on account of his treatment of his sister. The ambition of being sole master of the world, however, still more strongly prompted him to war. This becoming at length inevitable, Antony was so far roused as to quit Alexandria, at the same time ordering the necessary levies. But notwithstanding the advice of his best friends, he made Cleopatra the companion of this expedition. As was foreseen, instead of exerting himself to oppose his powerful antagonist, he, in the midst of danger, attended only to pleasure and Cleopatra. And at the decisive battle of Actium, the Egyptian queen flying with her squadron,

Antony, regardless of every thing, accompanied her, leaving his fleets and armies without a leader. This, for a short time, oppressed him with grief, yet such was the power of Cleopatra, that he very soon gave himself up to his usual mode of life; continuing at Alexandria, without even struggling for empire, against the victorious Cæsar.

When Octavius arrived in Egypt with a powerful army, and actually invested the city of Alexandria, the warlike spirit of Antony once more reviving, he made a most gallant defence. During it he, however, found out that some private negotiations had been carried on between Octavius and Cleopatra. In the rage which this occasioned, Antony would have killed her, had she not saved herself in a sort of monument, which she had before erected, and which was inaccessible. A reconciliation soon took place, but falling out again, in order to avoid his resentment, she caused it to be reported that she was no more. This was fatal to Antony, for he no sooner heard it, than he fell on his sword. The wound,

though mortal, did not cause immediate death, and Cleopatra sending to him that she was living, he suffered it to be dressed. He was then brought to the foot of the monument, and was drawn up on the outside by ropes, which Cleopatra and her attendants let down for that purpose; soon after which he expired in the arms of her to whom he had sacrificed every other object.

Cleopatra had carried all her riches into this monument, and fearful of being surpris- ed, the door was not allowed to be opened. Cæsar, however, having got possession of the city, contrived to get both her and her wealth into his power. She then attempted to allure him by those charms which to An- tony proved so fatal. But finding they had no effect, and that all her negotiations for a restoration to the regal power were in vain, she resolved on death. To this she was more strongly prompted, by the dread of being led in triumph to Rome, which was really the design of Cæsar; by whose orders, the utmost care was taken that no means of

death should reach her. Some Asps, whose bite was mortal, were, however, conveyed in a basket of figs without being discovered. And, according to her last request, she was buried in the tomb with Antony.

Cleopatra was remarkable for her knowledge of many languages, and on one occasion she shewed her regard for literature. When Julius Cæsar was besieged in Alexandria, a great part of its famous library was destroyed. This she afterwards repaired, and placed in it 200,000 volumes, which Antony found in Pergamus, and bestowed to this his favourite queen. To the beauties and graces of her face and person, which, by every account, were most extraordinary, was added a very great capacity. But with all these qualifications she was vicious in the extreme; and by a total subversion of those bounties which nature had bestowed, she was the cause of misery to many, and finally brought about her own destruction.

Cleopatra died about nine years before the birth of Christ, and with her ended the reign

of the race of Ptolemy Lagus, Egypt from thenceforth becoming a Roman province. Her son Cæsarion was put to death by order of Octavius, who was only the nephew of Julius Cæsar, and therefore feared the pretensions of his son. But Cleopatra's children by Antony were treated with great kindness, as were also the friends and attendants of that unfortunate queen.

Ethiopia is scarcely mentioned in history from the times of Alexander the Great to those of Augustus. In that of the latter, Candace, a queen of this country, ventured to attack a Roman army that was in Egypt; but she was in a short time compelled to solicit a peace, which she obtained. And as to the rest of the African countries, there is nothing that will not fall in with the Roman history.

In Europe we find a number of new nations arising, who went by the general appellation of Gauls and Germans. But many of their petty states were conquered by Julius Cæsar; and the Roman arms were likewise

extended to the island of Great-Britain, where they made a slight impresson ; and of which I shall give a more particular account in the history of Rome. The inhabitants of Gaul and Britain were of Celtic origin, or sprung from some of the Northern tribes, particularly called Celtes ; whilst the Germans were from the Umbri or Teutones. But in most instances their manners and religion were the same. The Gauls, indeed, had made a greater progress in the line of civilization than any of the others, having a number of cities ; whereas the Britons had only a few villages, and the Germans had hardly any buildings whatsoever. The best cultivated of them, were, however, not many degrees from a state of nature. And each of these countries had a multitude of tribes, or small states, which had their own distinct appellations. Some being subject to petty Princes, and others being perfectly free, electing leaders as occasion required, to command them.

But notwithstanding these distinctions

amongst them, they all worshipped the supreme Deity, under the Symbol of an Oak, which made them hold both it and its fruit in the highest veneration. Their worship of almost every kind, was in groves of those trees. And they had inferior Deities, of whom Mars or Odin was particularly honoured under the symbol of a sword. Human sacrifices were offered by them, and they delighted in Auguries and other superstitions. Their priests were called Druids, to whom they paid the utmost deference, nothing being done, either civil or military, in any state, without their concurrence ; for if the Druids excommunicated any person, he could not be admitted to their worship or sacrifices ; all persons were forbid to associate with him, and he was without the protection of the laws. These priests taught the immortality of the soul and the necessity of virtue ; but then, their notions of right and wrong, were extremely undefined, and tinged with barbarity ; and by claiming the power of future rewards and punishments,

they more strongly bound their followers to obedience. They had also Druidesses, who assisted in the ceremonies of religion, and were of three distinct orders. The first was composed of virgins: the second of married women, who allowed a connexion with their husbands but once in every year: the third were a kind of servants to the other two, but not under the same restrictions. Besides these, they had Bards, who celebrated their heroes, and recorded their victories, in such rude songs as they were capable of composing; and this class of men were held in the highest estimation.

The disputes which arose between the petty states or tribes of these countries, were decided by arms. Even matters of property between individuals, were adjusted by single combat. Notwithstanding the superior discipline of the Romans, their valour and love of liberty, led them to wonderful struggles; and after being subdued, they frequently revolted. Agriculture was for a long time despised, fishing and hunting being their only

mode of sustenance. The vices that preponderated, were drunkenness and a desire of revenge. Their best qualities were hospitality, a love of justice, and fidelity to their engagements. And their women were remarkable for their chastity, often preferring death to the loss of it, or of their liberty.

Besides the conquests in Britain, Gaul, and Germany, the petty Princes of Thrace were obliged to yield to the Roman arms, before the expiration of my present æra. So were all the islands of the Mediterranean seas; but some were allowed their own peculiar laws and privileges; and Rhodes was very particularly favoured. Crete was reduced into a Roman province about the year 68, and Cyprus was taken from the family of Ptolemy Lagus, under the pretence of a will, as I have before related. Of the other countries of the world, I know nothing in this place to be related, except of Rome, to which I shall proceed in the ensuing letter.

FOURTH LETTER.

AFTER the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, the principal disturbances that for some time effected Rome, were in Spain and Cisalpine Gaul. In the year 137, Appius Claudius Pulcher slew 5000 Gauls in battle. For this he demanded a triumph, which was refused on account of some ill success that had preceded it. But Pulcher conceiving himself ill used, as it had been just before decreed, that no man should obtain a triumph unless 5000 of the enemy were slain, resolved to take that by force which was refused to his solicitation. He therefore entered Rome in triumph, at the head of his victorious forces, no one daring to oppose him, though both senate and people had concurred in denying him that honour. This conduct of Pulcher was without a precedent in the annals of the republic ; and strongly points

out the superiority which the soldier was already acquiring over the undisciplined citizens of Rome.

In Spain, Viriathus, King of the Lusitani-
nians, was for a long time formidable against
the Romans; till being at length drawn into
an insidious peace, his affairs were consi-
derably worse at an unexpected renewal of
the war; and it ended in his death and
the subjection of his country.

In another part of Spain, the Numantines
gained great advantages, forcing the Roman
general to conclude a peace, highly honour-
able to them. But the senate and people of
Rome, paying no regard to the treaty, or-
dered a renewal of the war. In it they were
for some years unsuccessful, till at length
they sent the second Scipio Africanus to
command in that quarter. His valour and
judicious conduct had its usual effect, Spain
being again reduced to subjection. And un-
der Scipio, Marius, then a young man,
greatly distinguished himself.

This was about the year 133, at which time Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, was very conspicuous at Rome. Graceful in his person and manners, with great abilities and a powerful elocution, he became so great a favourite with the people, that they raised him to the Tribuneship. By proposing a revival of the Agrarian law, he still added to his popularity. For the senators had not only purchased much more land than they ought, but they had likewise possessed themselves of great tracts of conquered territories, to which they had no title whatever.

This conduct of Gracchus, was as hateful to the Patricians as it was grateful to the bulk of the community. Marcus Octavius Cæcilius, another tribune, was therefore bribed to cry veto as often as Gracchus should propose the revival of the obnoxious law. Gracchus then had recourse to another privilege of a tribune, which was that of suspending the authority of every Roman magistrate. When this was done, the assembled people had a right to act without controul,

But the vases that held the ballots being removed by the underhand means of the senators, the sense of the meeting could not be collected. A tumult was the consequence, which was appeased by two senators proposing, that the revival of the law should be moved in the senate. That body however rejecting it, Gracchus proposed to the people, that either he or Cæcina should give up their office; on which the latter was compelled to resign. And the Agrarian law being then renewed, Gracchus himself, with Appius Claudius, his father in law, and Caius Gracchus were appointed to decide on the breaches of it. The wealth of Attalus, King of Pergamus, not long after this arriving at Rome, Gracchus still added to his influence, by carrying a law for its division amongst such of the poor citizens as should not get land by the intended distribution. The revenues of the kingdom of Pergamus, were also to be applied as the people in comitium should direct, instead of being under the controul of

the Senate, which was most highly resented by the members of that assembly.

Though contrary to law, Sempronius Gracchus, at the expiration of his tribuneship, became again a candidate for that office. Finding he must succeed, a number of senators, headed by Scipio Nasica, fell on Gracchus and flew him, together with 300 of his friends. For some days his followers also were every where assassinated. And the people, instead of revenging their favourite, were satisfied at the appointment of P. Crassus in his room, to execute the Agrarian law. Whilst Scipio Nasica and his party, obtained a general pardon by a decree of the senate.

A dangerous insurrection in Sicily, is the next event of consequence. The Roman knights who were employed in the collection of its revenues, had acquired vast estates in that island, which they had stocked with great numbers of slaves. These unfortunate men, being grievously oppressed, rose upon their masters, at the same time appointing

one of themselves, named Eunus, for their king. They put to death every freeman they met with, and for a time made good their revolt. But it ended in their being reduced to their former servitude. And much about the same time, Aristonicus wrested the kingdom of Pergamus from the Roman republic.

In the election of consuls for the year in which Aristonicus began his enterprise, a great novelty happened at Rome. The High Priest of Mars, and the Pontifex Maximus were raised to the consulate. And the latter being sent against Pergamus, lost his life on that occasion. Two Plebeians were at this time raised to the censorship, though by the established rule one only was eligible. It was also enacted during this consulate, that women at a certain age should be obliged to marry. And Corbo, a tribune of the people, attempted to enforce the execution of the Agrarian law.

Perperna, a soldier of fortune, and not

even a Roman citizen, was raised to the consulate, and succeeded the Pontifex Maximus in the Asiatic command, where he had considerable success. At Rome, the Tribunitial power was still encroaching on the Patricians. And Q. Cæcilius Metellus, the Censor, refusing Labeo, a Tribune, a seat in the senate, Labeo seized him, and would have thrown him from the Tarpeian rock, had not another Tribune rescued him. Labeo however got Metellus's goods confiscated, besides a decree, that from henceforth the Tribunes should have the right of voting in the senate.

The three commissioners for enforcing the Agrarian law, had proceeded to the execution of their office; but they were accused of the most glaring partiality, and the second Scipio Africanus, who openly alledged the injustice of their conduct, was on the point of being raised to the Dictatorship, in order to settle that business. To avert this, the commissioners are supposed to have procured his murder, and even to have drawn his wife

into the plot : For he was found dead in his bed, with several marks of violence, and no enquiry was made as to the cause of it. Thus perished the gallant Africanus, to whom Rome was so much indebted; nor was there at this time sufficient virtue amongst the Romans, to avenge this vile assassination. Scipio Africanus appears to have been a man of the strictest integrity; and perhaps there could not be a better proof of it, than that he died extremely poor, notwithstanding the exalted station he had filled, and the vast spoils which must have been taken in the numerous and important victories which he obtained.

Caius Gracchus, though one of the commissioners, found means to be popular; thereby obtaining the Tribuneship. He then carried a law, by which the Knights who were at the head of the Plebeian order, should decide all private causes. This jurisdiction before belonged to the Senators, and was the great source of their influence amongst the

people. It was therefore highly offensive to them, and Gracchus added an insult to this injury, by placing the seats of the senators in the comitium, so that their backs were turned to whoever spoke from the Rostra. The law which prohibited any judge from executing a Roman citizen, though sentenced to die, till the people gave their consent, was revived. But what created greater dissensions than all these regulations, was a proposal made by Gracchus, that the right of voting should be conferred on all the Italians, who were in friendship with Rome. This was no sooner known, than as Gracchus foresaw, multitudes of the foreigners crowded to support him. And the Senate found it necessary to make an order, that no person who had not the right of voting, should come nearer than five miles of the capital; which was enforced with the greatest difficulty.

The power of Gracchus with the people, had become so formidable, that it could not be openly opposed. The senators there,

fore bribed another Tribune, named Drusus, to act in concert with them. And the plan fixed on, was, that whenever Gracchus moved any thing violent, Drusus should go still farther. By this means, as they foresaw, Drusus became still more popular than the other. But an opportunity now offered of getting Gracchus sent from Rome, under the appearance of doing him honour. It had been a little before resolved, to build a new city where Carthage had stood, and settle it with a Roman colony. Gracchus was therefore appointed one of those who should superintend the undertaking. And setting out with 6000 citizens for Africa, his enemies had an opportunity of more effectually changing the affections of the people.

Gracchus, notwithstanding this appointment, returned to Rome time enough to be a candidate for his re-election to the Tribuneship. In this the senatorial interest defeated him. And that body resolving to mortify him still more, now proposed that he

should be removed from superintending the African colony. In a scuffle which this contest occasioned, a servant of Gracchus slew one of the Consul's lictors. This operated as a signal for the partizans of each; Gracchus, with a great body of the people, seizing on the Aventine Hill, whilst the senators and their followers took possession of the capitol. The senate then caused a free pardon to be proclaimed to all those who abandoned Gracchus; the consequence of which was, that most of the people deserted him; and venturing an engagement with the few that remained, he was defeated and slain. L. Opius, one of the consuls, then let loose his vengeance against the followers, and even the children of the unfortunate Tribune, executing all without mercy. After which, every law which Gracchus had gained for the people, was repealed.

Several trivial disturbances happened in different quarters of the Roman empire, which I pass without notice. But a serious danger for a short time threatened the repub-

lic from Transalpine Gaul. Bitultick, King of a nation called the Averni, appeared at the head of 200,000 men. He was however defeated and taken prisoner by Fabius Maximus, who commanded the forces that had been sent to oppose this invasion.

For a considerable time no laws could be proposed but by the Tribunes of the people. This was broke through by the consul Æ. Scaurus, for he moved and carried several regulations against luxury and gaming. In conjunction with the Censors, thirty-two senators were also degraded for their improprieties. And Scaurus having proved successful against some Gaulish nations, was rewarded not only with a triumph, but likewise with the office of prince or speaker of the senate. At this period, three of the Vestals being detected intriguing, two of them with their gallants, suffered death. And the women in general had now lost that regard to virtue which had prevailed in the more virtuous days of Rome.

The Romans had formed several settle-

ments in that part of Transalpine Gaul which was adjacent to the Alps. In those countries, a new enemy at this time appeared, called the Cimbri and Teutones. They came from the country since called Germany, and the Consul Papirius Corbo, who was sent to oppose them, was defeated with the loss of his army. The victorious Cimbri and Teutones, however, instead of passing the Alps, as the Romans dreaded, contented themselves for the present in overrunning the settlements in Transalpine Gaul.

A war of no less consequence, was at this time on the point of breaking out in Africa, the source of which I shall briefly relate. Micipsa, the tributary King of Numidia, who died a few years before, left two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, besides a nephew, named Jugurtha, whom he adopted. He therefore by his will, bequeathed his dominions to the three. But the ungrateful Jugurtha, not contented with his third, murdered Hiempsal, and driving out Adherbal, possessed himself of all.

Adherbal being thus deposed, repaired to Rome, and implored the aid of the senate; Ambassadors at the same time arriving from Jugurtha, who by their presents secured a majority of that venal assembly. Ten commissioners were however ordered into Africa, to divide the kingdom between these competitors. But bribery being exerted by Jugurtha, in this instance also, by far the richest territory was allotted to him. Nor did this satisfy that detestable tyrant, for the commissioners were no sooner gone, than he attacked the kingdom of Adherbal, besieging that prince in Cirtha, his capital.

Thus situated, messengers were dispatched by Adherbal to Rome, from whence new commissioners were sent, who did nothing, owing to the money paid them by Jugurtha. On a fresh application, other commissioners arrived in Africa, who, under the same influence, followed the example of their predecessors. Seeing no prospect of succour, Adherbal at length surrendered, on the terms of his own and his people's lives being spared.

But Jugurtha, whom no ties could bind, put him to a cruel death. And having massacred all that were found in Cirtha, he became the sole possessor of the Numidian territories.

Though Rome was become most dreadfully corrupt, some virtue yet remained in the bulk of the people. Their indignation was justly raised at the murder of Adherbal. This they truly supposed would not have happened had the Roman commissioners done their duty. Caius Memmius, one of their Tribunes, therefore openly accused not only the persons employed, but the senators at large, of venality, at the same time demanding an immediate war with Jugurtha. To this the senate appeared to acquiesce, though after a few frivolous preparations that amused the people, it ended in a peace with the bloody Monarch of Numidia.

Memmius, the Tribune, now thought of another mode for punishing this tributary king. He got the people to decree, that he should come before them in person, and an-

swer for his conduct. With this Jugurtha complied, and he was called upon to declare what bribes he had given, and to whom. The venal senators, to guard against such a discovery, had however secured one Salca, a Tribune, to forbid his answering such questions. And this being the law, Jugurtha was not obliged to reply.

A competitor for the Numidian crown was at this time also in Rome. His name was Massiva, and his claim arose from his being a nephew of Micipsa's. Jugurtha now caused this rival to be publicly assassinated; after which, to the eternal infamy of the senate, he was suffered to return, without trial or punishment, to Africa. The resentment of the people at large, was however no longer to be stemmed. War was declared against him, and a Tribunal erected for the trial of those who had received the bribes of this detestable usurper.

Scaurus, Prince of the Senate, was one of the commissioners sent into Africa, where he had been as venal as the worst. Not-

withstanding this, his interest was sufficient to make him president of the court that was to try such offenders. And several persons were condemned and banished for it, one of whom was that Opimius, who had pursued the family and followers of Caius Gracchus, with so much severity.

Aulus Posthumius was appointed to carry on the African war. But Numidian gold getting into the camp as it had before done into the senate, it was betrayed to the enemy. Jugurtha then obtained a peace from Posthumius on his own terms; one article of which was, that the Roman army should pass under the yoke. When the news of this arrived at Rome, the senate, however, refused to ratify the treaty. And having some return of public virtue, or perhaps infligated by shame for their former baseness, they now sent a man of courage, conduct, and integrity, to command against Jugurtha.

This was Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who soon convinced the Numidian King of the superiority of Rome. He reduced him to such

freights, that Jugurtha was glad to accept terms, on delivering up all his elephants and arms, besides paying a considerable sum of money. Metellus then ordered him to come in person before him. But a sudden apprehension seizing Jugurtha, probably from a consciousness of his crimes, he chose rather to renew the war than trust himself in the hands of the Romans.

Caius Marius, who distinguished himself in Spain, under the second Scipio Africanus, was honoured by Metellus with the post of his Lieutenant in this war. His conduct in it fully justified that choice, so far as related to the martial character. But Marius suffered ambition to overcome his gratitude, and he by every art, endeavoured to supplant his general. Both by his own, and the letters of others, he had Metellus's conduct censured at Rome; whilst at the same time, he had also his emissaries to undermine him with the army. Having by such base means laid the foundation of his own elevation, Marius obtained leave from the unsuspecting Metellus,

to return for a short time to Italy. He arrived there six days before the election for consuls, and declaring himself a candidate, proved successful. Nor did the people stop there, for they appointed him to supersede Metellus, notwithstanding the senate had before decreed, that the latter should continue in his post to the end of the war. But Marius, who affected to be of the popular party, openly boasted, that this victory over the senatorial body, was more grateful to him than if he had conquered the Monarch of Numidia.

Whilst these things were transacting at home, Jugurtha, when brought to the lowest ebb, was unexpectedly joined by the Getuli, a neighbouring people, and by Bocchus, King of Mauritania. This obliged Metellus to act on the defensive; and in that state of affairs, Marius brought over a considerable reinforcement to Africa. Metellus being thus superseded, set out for Rome, without having an interview with his ungrateful lieutenant. On his arrival, the affections of the people

began already to change in his favour; and besides voting him a triumph, they honoured him with the additional name of Numidicus.

Marius, who was attended with great success, having established his superiority in the field, laid siege to the most important cities. Such as held out, he treated with the greatest severity. And after a few such examples, almost every place submitted at his approach. In this war, Lucius Cornelius Sylla, who served as Quæstor, an office next in consequence to the consul, first distinguished himself. He had been a man of the most effeminate and debauched manners. His fortune was entirely dissipated, when a courtesan that was attached to him, left him a sum of money, which being added to by his mother, he resolved to become a man of business. Having powerful friends, he got this appointment, and on joining the camp, he determined to make Marius his model. Marius was remarkable for his plain way of living, as well as for the austerity of his manners. But Sylla had resolution enough to

throw off all his former habits, in a short time becoming both a gallant and an able soldier.

After various successes, Bocchus was glad to conclude a separate peace with Marius; one article of which was, the betraying of Jugurtha. This latter part was accomplished chiefly by the management of Sylla, who had been sent for that purpose to the court of Mauritania. And both at Rome and in the army, he obtained such applause for it, and for his valour, that Marius began to feel uneasy, though his jealousy did not yet burst into notice.

The war being ended, Bocchus was rewarded with a part of Numidia, afterwards called New Mauritania. Another part of the conquered country, was added to the Roman province in that quarter; and what remained was divided between Hiempsal and Mandrestal, who were descended from Masinissa.

The Cimbri and Teutones still held good their conquests in Transalpine Gaul, having defeated several Roman armies. The con-

sequence was, that they were joined by some of the Gaulish states, thereby becoming still more formidable. Servilius Cæpio, as Proconsul, had the command of the Roman forces sent against them, during the last year of the Numidian war : and M. Aurelius Scaurus, one of the new consuls, was ordered to join him with a powerful army. But Cæpio, offended at the command being thus taken from him, disobeyed the orders of Scaurus. The consequence of this misunderstanding, was a dreadful overthrow of both their forces. Eighty thousand fighting men and forty thousand followers of the camp, are said to have perished, twelve men only escaping from this field of blood. And a revolt of the Lusitanians happening about the same time in Spain, Rome was seized with the utmost consternation.

In this emergency, all the youth that were able to bear arms, were embodied. Marius, who was on his road from Africa, was at the same time elected consul, and appointed to the command in Gaul ; and though out of

the usual course, the people named Sylla for his lieutenant, thereby securing the services of two men whom they deemed most equal to this dangerous situation. Soon after these appointments, Marius entered Rome in triumph, Jugurtha and his two sons appearing in the train of the victor. The first, was either put to death, or died in prison of the hard usage he received. But the latter were suffered to live in obscurity.

The Cimbri and Teutones, instead of passing the Alps after their decisive victory, turned their arms towards Spain. Marius thereupon dispatched Sylla, with a detachment, to chastise those countries of Transalpine Gaul that had joined the enemy; which service was performed with his usual good conduct and success. Marius for this year contented himself with training the new levies, whom he had preferred to the veterans which he brought from Africa, to arms; at the same time sending to the different states, that were tributary to Rome, for more recruits. This led to a public discovery of the dreadful ty-

ranny exercised by the Romans ; for Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, in reply to the demand of Marius, informed him, that the Roman knights employed to collect the taxes of his kingdom, had on one pretence or other, carried all his people that were fit to bear arms, into slavery. To what a state must that king and country have been reduced, when such an answer was found to be true, on the fullest investigation ! The senate however in consequence of it, passed a decree, that every slave who was born free, should immediately be emancipated throughout the empire.

Some trivial disturbances arose in Campania, from the eagerness of the slaves, to benefit by this order. But in Sicily it caused a very formidable insurrection. The Roman knights in that island, had bribed the Prætor to evade the edict. This drove the slaves to a revolt, on which 20,000 of them flew to arms, electing one Salvius for their king. And defeating the Prætor, they were for

some time able to defy the power of their former masters.

During these troubles, the popular party at Rome again obtained the ascendancy. The Pontifices were now elected by the people, which right had hitherto been vested in the respective colleges of priests. It was also decreed, that a man degraded by a Plebiscitum or vote of the people, could never sit in the senate. They likewise enacted, that if any ally of Rome should accuse a senator, and substantiate the offence with which he charged him, he was to be rewarded with all the privileges of a Roman citizen. An attempt was at this time made to enforce the Agrarian law, but as usual it proved ineffectual.

Marius, by his intrigues, was raised a third, and afterwards the fourth time, to the consulate, though he affected to decline it. As yet he had only prepared for action; but in his fourth consulate, he made up for any seeming delay. The Cimbri and their allies had determined to invade Italy by the eastern side of the Alps, whilst the Teutones and

those nations which had joined them, were to make a similar effort to the westward. Marius was posted near the mouth of the Rhone, in such a situation as to interrupt the designs of the Teutones, who frequently offered him battle, whilst Marius as constantly declined quitting his strong situation. At length, however, a favourable opportunity arrived for attacking the enemy; and he then gave them a decisive blow.

The next year Marius was again consul, and turning his arms against the Cimbri, who had now entered Italy, he was completely victorious. The war with the slaves in Sicily was ended much about the same time, by their being subdued. And thus in the year 96, Rome was relieved from those foreign and domestic attacks which had not a little alarmed her.

By his success, his flattery, and corruption, Marius was for the sixth time honoured with the consular dignity. In order to carry still more ambitious views into effect, he was

privately leagued with two very infamous, but at the same time popular men. These were Glaucia, the prætor of civil causes, and Apuleius, a Tribune of the people. In order to lower the senate, Apuleius now proposed the distribution of some conquered lands, and also that the senators should solemnly swear not to oppose the people in any thing. This being very justly offensive, was for a time most strenuously resisted; but the arts of Marius prevailing, it was complied with. Metellus Numidicus, whom Marius formerly supplanted, was the only man of the senate, who had virtue enough to refuse that encroachment; and for this firmness, he was banished by a vote of the people.

Marius conducted himself with so much hypocrisy, that many of the senators supposed him of their party. But their eyes were soon after opened by the reluctance with which as consul he acted against Apuleius and Glaucia. Their outrages became at length too grievous to be borne. Glaucia had stood for the consulate, when being

likely to lose it, he murdered Memmius, his competitor. After which, being joined by Apuleius, they and their followers took possession of the capitol. The consuls being then ordered by the senate to quell the insurrection, Marius, with a dilatoriness that discovered his real sentiments, was obliged to comply. And though he endeavoured by every underhand means, to save his coadjutors, both Glancia and Apuleius were slain, with numbers of their party. On this, Metellus Numidicus was recalled, and Marius having lost his consequence at Rome, thought it adviseable to pass into Asia, giving out that he went to perform some religious duties that could only be executed in that quarter. In Spain, a fresh revolt had taken place, which afforded an opportunity to Sertorius, afterwards very conspicuous in history, to display his military talents. For he highly distinguished himself there in the capacity of a military Tribune.

Sylla now became the most popular man

at Rome ; and Marius, on his return, had the mortification of finding himself almost totally neglected. New events were however about to take place, in which the Romans were to be divided into two factions, headed by these rivals. It had been for a considerable time, the object of the different people of Italy, to be admitted to the rights of Roman citizens, and at length in the year 86, it occasioned an open rupture. The different states, who sought for this privilege, making it a common cause, the Romans were placed in the most dangerous situation. And different bodies of their troops having been worsted, the absolute ruin of this celebrated people seemed to be at hand. To avert it, Sext. Julius Cæsar, one of the consuls, procured a law, by which all the Italian nations were to enjoy what they contended for ; which being promulgated, many states immediately abandoned the confederacy. The Lucanians, Samnites, Mæri, Picentes, and several others, however persevered, from the prospect of destroying their ancient enemy,

Asellio, prætor of the city, was at this time openly murdered by a body of wealthy usurers, whose extortions he had punished; and such was the venality of Rome, that their riches procured their safety. A law was however made in consequence of it, making it death to go armed into the comitium, or to disturb a judge in the execution of his office. The jurisdiction of the Roman knights, which they had most grossly abused, was now taken from them, each tribe choosing fifteen persons, to whom they committed the decisions of their civil causes. The last hand was also put to Sext. Julius Cæsar's law; every Italian, who registered his name with any of the prætors in sixty days, becoming a Roman citizen. All these foreigners were then formed into new tribes; and as the 35 former tribes outnumbered the latter, it gave the Italians rather a nominal than a real power in the state.

Sylla, having greatly distinguished himself in this Italian or social war, was raised to the

consulate. This was highly disagreeable to Marius, who in order to pull down his rival, leagued himself with P. Sulpitius, a Tribune of the people. Sulpitius was a most detestable character, but of vast influence, not less than 3000 needy and desperate men being constantly supported by him. And besides these, who were ready at a call, he was commonly attended by a number of young knights, who were devoted to his service. In order to possess unbounded power, Sulpitius now resolved to gain over the Italians, who were lately made citizens. He therefore proposed, that instead of the new tribes, they should be incorporated into the old ones. This was highly offensive to the senators, whose interest would thereby, in fact, be annihilated; for the citizens from the Italian states, over whom they had no influence, would outnumber the old ones. And the question was deemed of so much importance, that the Consul Sylla, leaving the siege of Nola, the only city in Italy which then held out, returned to Rome.

The first step taken by Sylla and his colleague Pompeius Rufus, was to gain time. They therefore declared several days in succession to be Holy Days; during which, according to law, no business could be done. But Sulpitius, with a number of his ruffians, dreading any delay, entered the senate, demanding a repeal of this order; which being refused, his followers fell on the senators, and the son of the Consul Pompeius was slain. Sylla himself would have perished, had he not taken shelter in the house of Marius, who, on this occasion, acted with great generosity, affording his rival ample protection; on the condition, however, of the order for Holy Days being repealed. This being accordingly done, Sylla was glad to repair to the camp before Nola. The Consul Pompeius likewise left Rome, and there being no one who then dared to oppose Sulpitius, he carried the law in favour of the Italian allies. He likewise had Marius nominated to command the army against Mith-

ridates, King of Pontus, though Sylla had been before appointed by the senate; but Marius and Sulpitius were now every thing at Rome.

Thus appointed, Marius sent two military Tribunes to the camp before Nola, informing the troops they were no longer to obey Sylla. This insult on the consul, so irritated the soldiers, that they put those Tribunes to instant death, at the same time breathing nothing but vengeance against their employer. In return, Marius cut off the nearest and steadiest friends of Sylla, at the same time making himself master of their property. On hearing this, Sylla marched directly for Rome, from whence Marius made his escape. Sulpitius was however taken and beheaded, and numbers of that faction were immediately proscribed.

Sylla was at the head of the Senatorial party, which he highly gratified, by getting all those laws repealed, which Sulpitius had procured. He had it also enacted, that no law should be thenceforth proposed to the

people till it had passed in the senate. The voting in Comitia by centuries, instead of tribes, was revived. And to prevent persons of great weight becoming Tribunes of the people, it was decreed, that from thenceforth whoever filled that office, should be incapable of any other magistracy. By these acts, losing all his popularity, his consulate no sooner ended, than he was summoned by the people to give an account of his conduct. But having been before appointed by the senate to go against the generals of Mithridates, who were ravaging Greece, he set out on that expedition. In which he very soon changed the aspect of affairs, as I have already more particularly related.

L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the new consuls, being of the Marian faction, proposed a revival of the law which incorporated the Italian citizens into the 35 tribes. This was as strenuously opposed by Cn. Octavius, his colleague, who, on receiving information that Cinna's partizans were to go to the Forum with concealed arms, gave the same di-

rections to his followers. The consequence was, a dreadful battle, in which 10,000 were slain. Cinna, who was defeated, then fled from Rome, with all the new citizens that escaped, and declaring himself the champion of the Italian states; his forces in a short time amounted to thirty legions. On this change in affairs, Marius again made his appearance, acting under Cinna, with the title of Proconsul. Sertorius, who had returned from Spain, was likewise raised to a high command. These three, at the head of distinct armies, then invested Rome; where a fourth soon after co-operated, under the conduct of Papirius Carbo. The city, which was possessed by Sylla's friends, made a resolute defence; and during this siege, Pompey the Great, though quite a youth, first distinguished himself. But Rome was at length obliged to open her gates to Cinna and his coadjutors.

Sertorius in vain endeavoured to soften the cruelties of his colleagues; and the barbarities practised by Cinna, Carbo, and particularly

Marius, are almost incredible. Every friend of Sylla, or of the Aristocratic party, that they could get at, fell by the sword. Their goods and estates were confiscated, and Rome exhibited a scene of blood and rapine, greater than ever disgraced the most savage nation of antiquity. Its freedom was also for the present annihilated, Cinna, without any form of election, raising himself and Marius to the Consulate.

When this news reached Sylla, who had been extremely successful against Mithridates, he wrote home, that so soon as he had finished that war, he would have ample vengeance on his enemies at Rome. To prevent the execution of this threat, Valerius Flaccus, one of the Consuls, was sent into Asia, to take the command in that quarter. But Marius was so affected by Sylla's declarations, that he took to excessive drinking, which in a short time ended his days. He was succeeded in his usurped power by his son and name-sake, who inherited the savage disposition of his father.

Sylla having concluded a peace with Mithridates, and having also united the forces of Flaccus to his own, as I have already related, was preparing for his return to Italy. Whilst, on the other hand, Cinna and his colleagues exerted themselves in raising vast armies to oppose this formidable enemy.

Cinna intended to meet Sylla before he could reach Italy; but being slain in a tumult that happened amongst his forces, Carbo, the surviving Consul, resolved to wait for him at Rome; and he had not less than 200,000 men embodied under different commanders.

It was not till the next year that Sylla arrived, accompanied by 40,000 veterans. His first action was with C. Junius Norbanus, one of the new Consuls, whom he defeated with considerable loss; in consequence of which numbers declared for him. He, however, soon after got himself into a very dangerous situation, being nearly surrounded by the army under the other Consul, L. Cornelius Scipio. This he, however, turned to

his advantage, for pretending an anxiety for an accommodation, a truce of a few days was agreed on. During it, an intercourse took place between the two camps; and Sylla managed matters so well, that the whole Consular army revolted to him. This being greatly owing to the despicable opinion they entertained of Scipio, Sylla wisely suffered him to depart. But Marius and Carbo were still the leaders of powerful armies; it being as yet far from being decided, to whom victory would ultimately belong.

This was the state of affairs when Pompey, then only 23 years old, declared himself the friend of Sylla. He raised three legions at his own expence, making himself master of several places belonging to the opposite party. He then thought it best to attempt a junction with Sylla, but he had several dangers to encounter before he could accomplish it. A body of the enemy, commanded by a Roman General, named Brutus, first attacked him, and was defeated. The Consul Scipio, with a new army, next intercepting his march, that

General had the misfortune to be a second time deserted, his forces uniting themselves to the victorious Pompey. And the latter, after a partial engagement with Papirius Carbo, in which he had the advantage, reached the camp of Sylla. There the youthful hero was received with every mark of respect. And the opponents of Sylla now thought it expedient to cover Rome itself with all their forces,

Papirius Carbo and Marius being made Consuls, began the next campaign with a partial engagement, in which the troops of Sylla, under Metellus Pius, proved victorious. Marius, in revenge, commenced a fresh persecution against such of Sylla's party as were in his power; and several men of consequence were cut off by his orders. Sylla was no sooner acquainted with these cruelties, than he advanced against the city. This brought on an engagement between him and Marius, in which the latter was totally overthrown, retiring with the remnant of his army to the city of Præneste. Sylla then

entering Rome, which had been abandoned by the Marian faction: The property of his enemies was confiscated, whilst every appointment of the state was conferred on his friends. And having adjusted things in the capital, he went in quest of Carbo, whom he likewise defeated; his generals, at the same time, proving victorious in different parts of Italy.

Telefinus, a Samnite general, though he equally hated both parties, and meant, if possible, to rise on the ruin of the Romans, at this time supported the sinking Marian faction. Having, however, got between Sylla and Rome, and thinking that city must fall to him, he openly ventured to avow his intentions. Sylla, to prevent the destruction of the capital, immediately followed and attacked him. In the engagement, the wing which Sylla headed was entirely defeated, he himself most narrowly escaping with his life. But M. Crassus, who commanded the rest of the army, changed the fortune of the day. Telefinus was slain with most of his forces,

and the greatest part of what remained being taken prisoners, Sylla put them to death. All who were capable of bearing arms in Prænestæ, which soon after surrendered, shared the same fate, except Marius, who was his own executioner.

All Italy now submitted to the Conqueror, who distributed part of his forces, so as to prevent disturbances in the country, whilst he entered Rome at the head of the remainder. Sylla then declared to the assembled people, that not one of those who had borne arms against him should escape his resentment. In pursuance of this resolve, he issued his proscriptions, fixing on Lucius Sergius Catiline, who had before killed his own brother, as the chief instrument of his cruelties. If possible, the horrid massacre that followed, exceeded the bloody executions of Marius and his party. Nine thousand citizens, knights, and senators suffered death, before any cessation was put to these orders. And Sylla, then said, he only stopped to consider who else should be proscribed.

This happened in the year 77, and the Romans were reduced for a time to the most positive slavery, Sylla being nominated Dictator without any limitation; and a statue of brass was erected to his honour in the public Forum. He now confiscated the property of all that escaped his bloody orders, whilst he at the same time precluded their children from every public appointment. In order to prevent the Tribunitial Power becoming dangerous, he renewed the law, that they could fill no other office, and enacted, that they were not to speak when any question was agitating. He likewise had it enacted, that the people's Tribunes must be Senators. The Pontifices, Augurs, and Sybilline Decevirs were reinstated in their former power, filling up their vacancies out of their own respective colleges, each of which was, at this time, increased from ten to fifteen in number. As the temple to Jupiter Capitolinus had been burned two years before, and with it the Sybilline oracles, the keepers of them, by his orders, repaired the loss as well as they could,

putting down all they recollected of them. To secure his weight in the city, Sylla raised 10,000 slaves to the rank of citizens, who, from his name, were termed Cornelians. He likewise rewarded his old Legionaries with comfortable settlements. And having taken every necessary precaution to secure his power, he triumphed for two days together, during which he exhibited the vast wealth he had by different means acquired.

Sicily had joined the Marian faction, but Pompey, who was sent into that island, quickly reduced it. From thence, this young conqueror passed over to Africa, where Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus made head against Sylla's party, having prevailed on Hiarbas, who was king over a part of Numidia, to join him. In this expedition, Pompey also proved victorious, rewarding Hiempsal, the other Numidian King, with the territories of Hiarbas; and both here, and in Sicily, he behaved with great clemency. The reputation of Pompey rather raised a jealousy in Sylla, of what his designs might

ultimately be. This he was however cured of by the subsequent conduct of Pompey; for the latter being ordered to disband his army, instantly complied. Sylla therefore received him, on his return to Rome, with the most cordial affection, giving him the title of Pompey the Great. Though only a Roman knight, he afterwards granted him a triumph. And besides securing Pompey in his interests, Sylla now sought to gain the affections of the public; for which purpose he most magnificently feasted all the Roman people.

Julius Cæsar, though son in law to Cinna, and uncommonly bold in his censures of Sylla, had escaped proscription. Sylla, however, foresaw his future greatness, observing that he had in him many Marius's. And Cæsar thought it adviseable to retire to Asia, under pretence of pursuing his studies, where he found shelter in the court of Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, to whom he is said to have been a Catamite. Cicero, who was also at this time conspicuous for his abilities, retired

to Athens; but both of them were soon restored to their country by a most unexpected and extraordinary conduct on the part of Sylla. Though he had shed the blood of 100,000 citizens, to obtain the supreme power, he, of his own accord, resigned it. And what is perhaps still more extraordinary, he was suffered to die a natural death, notwithstanding the multitude of senators, and others, who were butchered by his order.

The motive from which this abdication arose, has been the subject of great controversy. That virtue had nothing to say to it, his prior and subsequent conduct fully evinces. The love of pleasure, and the desire of satisfying all his appetites without controul, was, I apprehend, the true cause. And his life in retirement, proves it to be so. As his friends were left in power, and he himself no longer an object of their envy, he thought himself secure. He therefore relinquished public affairs, repairing to his country estate, that he might give a loose to all his propen-

fities. Many of them were abominable ; and though he was lately married to a young and beautiful woman, he practised the most unnatural lusts. Roscius, one of the greatest of the Roman comedians, Sorex, a remarkable mimic, and Metrobins, who acted as a woman on the stage, were his catamites and constant companions. But this vicious monster was not long suffered to survive his summit of wickedness ; for a disease seized him in the year 73, which occasioned lice to issue from every part of his body. His cruelty prevailed even to the last, and he caused a man whom he thought culpable, to be strangled in his presence the very day before he himself expired. Amidst all his vices, he had one quality that was highly commendable ; which was, the strongest attachment to those who had served him ; but his resentments were equally violent. And it was his boast, that he had repaid both friends and enemies with usury. His abdicating the supreme power, was, however, more than a counterpoise in the eyes of the Roman citi-

zens, for all his enormities; and they honoured him with a most magnificent funeral.

M. Æmilius Lepidus, one of the consuls, now approached Rome, at the head of an army he commanded, insisting on being re-elected. His colleague, with the assistance of Pompey, however drove him from the city; which defeat he did not long survive. Pompey, after this service, was nominated to the command in Spain, where the remnant of the Marian faction were in power. Sertorius, who was at the head of it, beat all the generals sent against him by Sylla. And he had so ingratiated himself with the Lusitanians, that he induced them to change their regal government to that of a republic, over which he continued to possess the chief influence.

When Pompey entered Spain with his levies, he found Metellus, who had commanded the troops of his party extremely unsuccessful; nor was Pompey for some time more fortunate. Sertorius had been lately rein-

forced by a body of Romans, headed by Perperna, and he took a considerable city in sight of Pompey's camp, without that general daring to oppose it. Pompey afterwards fought two different actions, in which he was defeated. But the fortune of Metellus, who commanded a separate army, at this time changed; and after several successes, he forced Sertorius to quit the field. That general, however, very soon returned to it, and harrassed his enemies so much, that they sent to Rome for fresh supplies.

At this time Sertorius received 3000 talents and forty gallies from Mithridates, King of Pontus, who was hard pressed by Lucullus; and in return, Sertorius aided him with a small body of land forces. But amidst these external prospects of success, Sertorius was on the verge of ruin, from internal villainy. The Lusitanians were incited against him, by the underhand manœuvres of Perperna, and other principal officers, who were jealous of his fame and power. And when they thought they might do it without the dan-

ger of its being revenged, they assassinated him at a feast to which Perperna had invited him.

Sextonius is highly celebrated by every writer on these times; and he appears to have been not only the ablest but the best of all his contemporaries. His death did not pass unrevenge'd, for Perperna, who succeeded him, being totally inadequate to that command, was defeated and put to death. Most of those concerned in the assassination, likewise lost their lives. And in the year 69, the war was ended in Spain.

Much about this time, an insurrection of the slaves took place in Italy. They were headed by Spartacus, a Thracian Gladiator, who was soon so formidable, as to engage and overcome both the then consuls. Licinius Crassus, a general, who had distinguished himself under Sylla, was sent against them. They were defeated, and the few who escaped in this battle, being attacked by Pompey, who had just landed from Spain,

it ended the business; for which Pompey and Crassus were rewarded by the Consulate.

These new Consuls kept up an apparent friendship, whilst each was jealous of the designs of the other. From this cause, it was some time before either would disband his forces, though at length they both thought proper to do so. Crassus, who was extremely wealthy, then sought to rise above his rival, by the most profuse and expensive entertainments. But Pompey pursued another, and still as effectual a method of acquiring power. He proposed and obtained for the Tribunes of the people a restoration of their former authority. He also secured the great body of the Roman Knights on his side, by getting them appointed to judge in civil causes, together with the Prætor. And we shall soon see the effects of this judicious conduct.

The seas had been a long time most dreadfully infested by vast bodies of pirates, and M. Antipius, who had been sent against

them with a Roman fleet, had been defeated, whilst the war was carrying on against Sertorius. Gabinius, a Tribune of the people, who was particularly attached to Pompey, from thence took occasion to propose a scheme for the extirpation of the pirates. It was, that some one man should be appointed to command by sea for three years, with a right to make whatever levies he might think proper. This was opposed by some of the best and wisest of the Romans, who dreaded the use that might be made of such a power. But the measure was carried, and Pompey nominated to this important office. He equipped 500 ships, and raised 120,000 foot, besides some horse. Twenty-five Senators served under him as his Lieutenants, besides two, who filled the post of Quæstors, and the money allowed him for this expedition was 6000 Attic talents. The success was equal to the equipment, for in four months he cleared the seas of this banditti. Ten Thousand pirates were slain, 20,000 taken prisoners, and 800 of their ships were

destroyed. And Pompey also made himself master of 120 towns and castles which they possessed on the coasts of the Mediterranean.

This news was received at Rome with the most unbounded joy. Manilius, a tribune of the people, in the height of their satisfaction, then proposed, and carried, it unanimously, that besides his present power, the absolute command of their affairs in Asia should be vested in Pompey. In the Senate it produced a contest, in which Catulus, the Prince of that assembly, and Hortensius, an orator of eminence, opposed, such accumulated power in one individual. Cicero, on the other hand, exerted his eloquence for Pompey, because he wanted to secure his interest for the Consulate. And Julius Caesar took the same side, in order to forward those ambitious views which he had already formed. After some dispute, it therefore passed here also, and Pompey had those successes against Mithridates and Tigranes which I have elsewhere related.

Julius Cæsar having passed through the offices of Legionary Tribune and Quæstor, was at length raised to the *Ædileship*. In this post he courted popularity by the most splendid entertainments, exhibiting, amongst other shows, 320 couple of gladiators. He also repaired the Appian way at his own expence; and by such a conduct, added to engaging manners and great abilities, Pompey himself was not more in favour with the people. Marius's faction, though depressed, was not extinguished. Cæsar therefore aimed at becoming its leader, as Pompey was at the head of Sylla's. For this purpose he tried the pulse of the public, by producing the statues of Marius, adorned with trophies, and found that he did so without offence. He now proceeded farther, causing several of Sylla's chief partizans to be banished, or put to death, for their offences. Catiline, however found means to obtain the friendship of Cæsar, though the wickedest of all Sylla's followers. And Cæsar is generally supposed

to have been at least privy to the conspiracy now headed by that monster.

Catiline having ruined himself by his vices, associated with a number of others who were in the same situation. They then resolved to relieve their wants, by cutting off the principal Senators, and usurping the supreme power. This plot was conducted with so much art, that every thing was nearly ready for carrying it into execution, when Cicero, the then Consul, was made acquainted with their intentions. The information came to him by means of a lady, who had an intrigue with one of the conspirators. And there being no doubt of its reality, the Senate invested the Consul with full power to save the state. Cicero thought it best to accuse Catiline to his face before the Senate, of which he was a member; soon after which Catiline fled. He was then proclaimed an enemy to his country, whilst the heads of his party, that were in Rome, were seized, condemned and executed. And the army raised by Cat-

One being soon after defeated, and he himself slain, an end was put to this conspiracy.

The Consulate of Cicero happened in the year 59; and as Rome was saved from this intended scene of blood by his means, he was honoured with the appellation of being the Father of his country. But Julius Caesar, notwithstanding the suspicions that fell on him as to this conspiracy, was likewise honoured, being very soon after raised to the dignity of Pontifex Maximus, by the suffrages of the people. In domestic affairs he was not so fortunate. His wife was detected in carrying on an intrigue with P. Clodius, a very debauched youth. There was indeed no actual proof of guilt; but Caesar divorced her, adding, that the wife of Caesar ought not even to be suspected. His delicacy in this instance appears, however, to have been rather singular. For finding, not long after, that Clodius could be useful to his ambition, he became most intimately connected with him.

Pompey having settled every thing in Asia,

returned to Italy. He there rewarded his forces in the most ample manner. After which, contrary to the expectations of most, he instantly disbanded them. At his triumphal entry into Rome, several princes marched before him, all of whom he treated with kindness and generosity: And an immense wealth was displayed in this procession of the victorious Pompey.

The successes, and liberal spirit of Pompey, well deserved the approbation of the public. He therefore conceived that his late conduct, by which he proved, that he meant not to usurp the supreme power, entitled him to the chief influence at Rome. But he soon found that party alone could carry any thing there; and his was weakened, not strengthened, by his absence; though that absence was spent in the most illustrious services to his country. On this, he is said to have regretted the disbanding his army; and he laid down fresh schemes for regaining his lost influence. Clodius, notwithstanding his vices,

H. 4. Pompey's return to Rome.

was a very popular character; and with him Pompey closely connected himself, though by doing so, he forfeited the esteem of the few men of worth who were yet to be found in Rome.

Cæsar had got himself appointed to the government of one of the Spanish provinces a little before the return of Pompey. Whilst absent, he made war on some nations in that quarter, that had been hitherto unmolested by the Romans. And by subduing them, he acquired as much wealth as enabled him to pay his debts, though they amounted to 1,600,000*l.* of our money. From the first setting out of Cæsar, his object was the supreme power. To obtain it his extravagance knew no bounds. And he was very early heard to declare, He would rather be the first man in a paltry village, than the second at Rome.

In the absence of Cæsar, Crassus and Pompey were the rival candidates for popular favour. When Cæsar returned from Spain, he therefore made it his object to be the me-

diator between them, on the terms that he should have a third share in directing all things at Rome: This junction he accomplished, though for a time it was kept secret, and by it the destruction of the republic was rendered inevitable. The triumvirate commenced in the year 55, and was perceived by Cato alone, who in vain attempted to expose their designs, nor was he believed, till it was too late to avert the evils which followed.

Cæsar, as had been previously settled, now stood for, and carried the Consulate. His colleague Calpurnius Bibulus was no way favourable to the triumvirate; and when Cæsar, to render himself popular, proposed the division of certain lands in Campania amongst the lower order, he was strenuously opposed by Bibulus. Cicero also displayed his eloquence in exposing the designs of the triumvirate. But Cæsar not only carried the decree for the distribution in Campania, but he also procured the banishment of Cicero. And that great orator, on this occasion, betrayed a want of

firmness no way honourable to his abilities or his philosophy. Cæsar still farther strengthened his interests by additional favours to the Roman Knights; for the public revenues being farmed by them, he caused one third of what they were to pay annually to the state to be remitted.

Having thus secured a number of friends at home, he obtained the command in Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul for five years. His arms proved extremely successful, reducing several nations to the Roman jurisdiction that had been hitherto unsubdued. And to add to his fame, he made good a landing in the island of Great-Britain, being the first of all the Romans who attempted the subjection of that people.

The Britains, though naked, and with rude arms ill adapted to oppose such an enemy, did not tamely submit to this invasion. When Cæsar's vessels approached their shores, they ran into the water to oppose the disembarkation, behaving with the utmost bravery. But such efforts were in vain, and after a

partial conquest of a part of the country, Caesar returned to winter in Gaul.

In the spring Caesar repassed the channel, to complete the reduction of Britain. Its inhabitants expected no less, and the different petty states united their forces under Cassivellanus, one of their kings. But he was beat in a pitched battle, and was at length forced to acknowledge himself tributary to Rome; at the same time giving hostages for the performance of those terms, on which peace was granted him by Caesar. That Conqueror had no sooner finished this business, than he again repaired to Gaul, where a very general revolt had taken place. But Pompey having sent him a reinforcement of two legions, it was not long before they were again reduced to obedience.

Whilst Caesar was thus pursuing the path of glory at a distance, some alterations happened at Rome, which led to very important consequences. P. Clodius, who had been raised to the Tribuneship by the approbation of all the triumvirs, quarrelled with Pom-

pey, and attached himself particularly to the interests of Cæsar. Pompey then resolved to get Cicero recalled, who was at enmity with Clodius. And having accomplished it, that celebrated orator was received at Rome with the highest honours. From this period, in particular, different interests and jealousies began to arise between Pompey and Cæsar, though it was some time before they broke into action.

The power of the triumvirate was so great, that they were able to carry the divided government of the empire. For notwithstanding the opposition given to it by Cato, and other real friends to liberty, the people made the following decree: That the supreme power in Egypt, Macedon, Syria, and their dependencies should belong to Crassus for five years, with full power to raise men and money, in order to extend the Roman power in Asia; Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul was allotted to Cæsar in like manner. As was the two Spains to Pompey. Crassus immediately set out to take possession of his high

office. But Pompey thought it more advisable to remain at home, contenting himself with raising a considerable force, which he encamped at the gates of the capital.

The death of Crassus in Parthia gave a new turn to affairs, Pompey from that moment aiming at the supplanting of Caesar. P. Clodius being soon after killed by Milo, an avowed enemy, Pompey fomented the disturbances that ensued. This he did, that a Dictator might be thought necessary; and he would have been raised to that post, but for a manœuvre of Cato. He proposed that Pompey should be made sole Consul, which gave him all necessary power, at the same time leaving him answerable to the Senate. This novelty accordingly took place, which was soon followed by the tumult being suppressed. And Pompey then made himself highly agreeable to the Senate, by taking a colleague for the remainder of his Consulate.

The next year Pompey was able to make two men Consuls who were solely devoted to his interests. Caesar at this time applied to

have his Proconsulship over Gaul renewed, the last five years decreed by the people being nearly expired; which being refused, he quickly perceived that Pompey's interest preponderated. He therefore exerted himself to establish order where he was, that he might have more leisure to attend to affairs at home; and he soon united all the countries from the Alps and Pyrenees to the Rhine into a Roman province. In his different campaigns from his appointment to this command, he is said to have taken 900 cities, and to have defeated, at different times, armies that amounted in all to more than three millions of men. But the destruction occasioned by his conquests was dreadful, it being computed that one third of that body were made prisoners, and as many more perished by the sword.

As Pompey was so powerful at Rome, Caesar thought it expedient to purchase one of the next Consuls, named Publius Emilius. This he effected by giving him upwards of 900,000*l.* of our money for his services.

Cæsar also bought Curio, a Tribune of the people, a man whom Pompey most firmly relied on. Curio, in order more effectually to serve Cæsar, proposed what appeared extremely equitable, which was, that both Cæsar and Pompey should now disband their armies; but as he foresaw, the latter refused to comply. Cæsar had therefore a good pretence for keeping his on foot also, though the time of his appointment was expired. And both pretended, what neither felt, a zeal for the public welfare.

Pompey and his friends now represented Cæsar, at the head of a victorious army, as a most dangerous enemy to the state. And the Senate ordered the Consuls, together with Pompey, as Proconsul, the Prætors, and other officers, to take proper means for the public safety. This was in fact a declaration against Cæsar, in favour of Pompey his avowed competitor. Whereas, had the Senate commanded both to disband their forces, it is probable that neither would have disobeyed, but would have again contented

themselves by having recourse to the arts of popularity. The fact however was, that the Senators, overawed by the presence of Pompey, with his army at hand, dared not act with freedom. And by this decree, which passed in the year 44, they not only deluged their country with blood, but gave a final blow to the Roman republic. This determination of the Senate was very far from being pleasing to the people at large, with whom Caesar was still a favourite. Curio, Cassius Longinus, and Marc Antony, three of their tribunes, openly exclaimed against it. Pompey, however, immediately took the title of Generalissimo to the state. And there not being any one with power to controul him, every place was filled with creatures devoted to his service.

Caesar had advanced with the third legion to Ravenna, which was within the boundaries of his command. This he did, that he might be near his friends at Rome. And he was here joined by the three Tribunes of the people, who were in his interest, they hav-

ing fled to him in the garbs of slaves. In this dress Cæsar presented them to the soldiers, pointing out the ill treatment they and he had received in such forcible terms, that the legion with one voice declared, they would faithfully adhere to him and to the Tribunes. Cæsar had now reached the most critical and important moment he had ever known. If he disbanded his forces his ambition was for ever blasted, and his life might also be at stake. If he went forward, a civil war was inevitable, the event of which was doubtful; and at best destructive to his country. For a short time these reflections made him hesitate. But at length his ruling passion prevailed. He passed the Rubicon which bounded the province in which he had a right to act. And surprising the strong city of Ariminium, he immediately sent orders for all his troops to join him.

Pompey had no idea of this decisive step; nor was he by any means prepared to meet the disciplined and victorious forces that acknowledged the command of Cæsar. He first,

therefore, retired into Campania, attended by the consuls and the senate. And when Caesar advanced with all his army, Pompey and his followers abandoned Italy, resolving to levy forces in the eastern provinces. Caesar, being every where acknowledged at home, his active spirit led him farther. He began with securing Sardinia and Sicily, after which he passed into Spain, which having with difficulty reduced, he returned to Rome.

Pompey was accompanied by most of the senators, and as he acted in concert with them, keeping up all the forms of the constitution, it gave him many advantages. On the other hand, Caesar was possessed of the affections of the people, and what was at present of still greater consequence, he had the support of a well disciplined and a victorious army. Greece was now made the seat of war, and after several petty engagements by sea and land, a decisive one was fought in the plains, near the city of Pharsalia. This happened in the year 43, on which occasion Pompey forfeited all his fame as a soldier.

Cowardice, or rather a state of distraction, made him fly in the very beginning of the action. And the victorious Caesar, after totally defeating the forces of his antagonist, took possession of his camp; 15,000 men fell on the part of Pompey, and 24,000 were taken prisoners. But the moderation and humanity of Caesar, induced him to give freedom to every Roman captive. And Marcus Brutus, who had fought against him, and afterwards stabbed him, was not only a partaker of this general pardon, but was received into a high degree of favour. Indeed, it is supposed by many, that Brutus was the son of Caesar, as the latter was well known to have had a connection with the mother of Brutus, though she was the wife of another.

It was no sooner known that Pompey had fled by sea towards Egypt, than Caesar, with a few of his troops, embarked in pursuit of him. The unfortunate end of the first, and the adventures of the latter in Alexandria, I need not repeat. When Caesar left Egypt, he went against Pharnaces, the son of Mith-

ridates the Great, who had commenced hostilities; and having chastised him, he returned to Rome. During his absence, both senate and people vied in heaping honours upon the victor. They declared him consul for five years, and Dictator for one; making him at the same time, the head of the tribunes of the people for life. And Marc Antony, Caesar's general of horse, was desired to govern Italy in the absence of the conqueror.

Notwithstanding the clemency shewn at Pharsalia, many were doubtful of the use Caesar would make of his exorbitant power. The bloody deeds of Marius and Sylla, were fresh in the memories of all. But he soon banished these apprehensions; and Cicero, who had sided with Pompey, and who had been formerly banished at his instigation, was one of the first whom he received into favour. He forgave the most of his enemies, almost without being solicited, and he rewarded his friends to their perfect satisfaction. For a time however, Antony was in a little disgrace with him, though he had so early es-

poured his cause. But this arose from a virtuous motive, it being meant as a slight punishment for his improper conduct in the government of Italy, whilst intrusted to his care.

Cato had the command of fifteen cohorts at Dyrrachium, when the battle of Pharsalia took place. Being uncertain of the fate of Pompey, after that fatal day, this great and virtuous Roman thought it advisable to pass with these forces into the island of Corcyra, where the fleet of his party was stationed. There he found Cneius Pompey, the son of the triumvirate, together with Cicero, and many others, who escaped from Pharsalia. Cato, who had never been consul, then offered Cicero the command, as he had filled that dignity. But Cicero, who was anxious to make his peace with Cæsar, refused it; which so provoked young Pompey, that he would have slain him had not Cato interposed. And that generous man, though Cicero was about to desert the cause

he himself espoused, procured the orator a private conveyance into Italy.

Cato passed over from Coreyra to Africa, where he erected at Utica, an epitome of the Roman republic. He there resigned the command to Scipio, who joined them, and was of consular dignity. This was a rule in similar cases, and all the solicitations of the soldiers could not make Cato infringe what he deemed the law. They received a considerable support in this quarter, by the junction of the Mauritanians, under Juba their king. And Caesar had something more to do before he was the sole director of the Roman empire.

This work was soon begun by that enterprising conqueror, who went in person against this remnant of his enemies. For some time he was rather unsuccessful, and more than once in eminent danger. His good fortune, however, in the end prevailed. And having driven all their forces from the field, he prepared to invest the city of Utica, which alone opposed him. Cato would have

held out to the last ; but the senate resolving on submission, he determined to put an end to his life. Before he executed this design, he got conveyances, from the port, for such as did not choose to try the clemency of Cæsar. And when he had finished such services as he could render to others, he fell on his sword and expired.

Cato is justly celebrated for his virtues. Besides his courage and capacity, he was a strenuous friend to the liberties of his country. Though his efforts were ineffectual, he had uniformly opposed the corruption and venality, which he saw must end in the destruction of the republic. Whilst he combated against the ambition of others, he carefully guarded against its influence upon himself. His private life was also governed by what appeared to him right. And when we consider, the almost universal depravity of manners that then prevailed, his purity becomes the more admirable. His putting himself to death, must not be weighed in the same scales of suicide at the present day. He

had not the knowledge of that religion which enjoins a patient submission to the will of God. And according to the Roman notions, such an act was highly meritorious.

Numidia and Mauritania were made a Roman province, after the surrender of Utica. And Cæsar having settled every thing necessary in Africa, repaired to Rome, where fresh honours awaited him. A statue was erected in the capitol next to that of Jupiter, inscribed to Cæsar the Demi-God; but these words were struck out, by his orders. A more solid token of his success was given, by the senate and people appointing him Dictator for the space of ten years, which gave him the most absolute power, with the sanction of law. Four magnificent triumphs were then performed by him, in which his vast riches were displayed. And his own desires being thus gratified, he resolved to return the compliment to his army and the people.

To every private soldier he bestowed 150*l*. of our money. The Centurions got double,

and the military tribunes and commanders in the cavalry, treble that sum. To the people he likewise made considerable presents. He also entertained them with various plays and diversions; and on one occasion, 2000 gladiators were exhibited in combats on the water and by land. Besides these gratifications, he feasted them with the most delicate foods, which were accompanied by delicious liquors. And by such means, the bulk of the degenerate Romans were brought to become the willing slaves of Caesar.

Except a few disturbances in Syria, the empire was now brought to a very general tranquillity. Caesar seized this interval from war, to enact some very wholesome laws, and to seek out those knights and senators most conspicuous for their probity, to administer justice. As great errors had crept into the Roman calendar, he also gave his attention to the rectifying it, making it very near what it now is. Augustus Caesar afterwards made a trivial alteration, which brought it to

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365 days and six hours for each year. And in order to prevent fractions, three years were to have only 365 days, and every fourth to have an additional day. This was however a little erroneous, and in the year of Christ 1582, Pope Gregory the 13th, made another alteration. The real course of the earth round the sun for a year, takes up no more than 365 days, 5 hours, and 49 minutes. A variation from the truth of ten days, had therefore happened from the time of Augustus, which Gregory remedied, by making the first of October, in the year 1582, stand for the eleventh. And then to keep it right, he ordered one day at the end of every century to be omitted, except at the expiration of every fourth century; for the eleven minutes do not amount to a day in less than 131 years. And this makes it so very near exact, that it does not seem probable any other change will ever happen in the solar computation.

Cæsar was roused from these peaceable occupations, by the news of a formidable ene-

my in Spain. The two sons of Pompey had there drawn together, the remnant of their father's followers. To oppose them, Cæsar, as usual, headed his forces; when after some unimportant actions, he fought a decisive one on the plains of Munda. In this battle, Cæsar was once in the utmost danger, and very near being defeated, though he at length obtained the victory. Both the Pompeys escaped from the field, but the elder soon after lost his life. Nor was the younger able to renew the war in Spain.

Having settled the affairs of that country, Cæsar once more revisited Italy. He was now made Dictator for life, and styled Imperator. To preserve the favour of the people, he, however, amused them with all their ancient forms. Every officer to which they had been used, was appointed; and in order to have the better opportunity of gratifying his particular friends, he increased their number. The senate, which was before limited to 300, he trebled. The Pretors were increased to

sixteen—the Quæstors to forty, and other magistrates in proportion. He continued to entertain and feast the people; nor did he neglect those whom he had cause to deem his enemies; for he endeavoured to soften their resentment by the kindest and most lenient conduct. Nay he extended his generosity to the dead, causing the statues of Pompey, which had been thrown down, to be restored. In return for such a conduct, the Senate and people, with great justice, voted a temple to clemency, in honour of Julius Cæsar. For, however improperly, he obtained the supreme power; no man ever used such an authority with more moderation, than this celebrated Roman.

Cæsar, with all his abilities, had a weakness that cost him his life. Not contented with the reality of power, he sighed in private for the title of a king and the bauble of a crown. And such is the force of sounds, that the people who had cheerfully surrendered the substance, were extremely averse to the name and ornaments of royalty. However, in or-

der to feel their pulse, Antony was instructed to offer Cæsar a crown, during the celebration of a feast called Lupercalia. On its being presented, Cæsar put it back with his hand two different times, at which the people present testified the highest approbation. But Cæsar could not conceal the displeasure that he felt at such a proof of the general sentiment. On another occasion, Diadems having been placed on his statues,—those who had done so, were punished by the tribunes; and here again Cæsar betrayed his real sentiments, by dismissing them from their office. The senate was also offended at Cæsar's receiving them on his seat, when they waited on him in a body. And though he afterwards apologized for it, ascribing his not rising to a want of presence of mind, occasioned by the falling sickness to which he was subject, it did not remove the impression. At length a conspiracy was formed against him, headed by Caius Cassius and Marcus Brutus. The first was instigated by malice

and resentment ; but the latter is universally allowed to have had no other motive than the love of Rome and liberty.

Cæsar had formed the vast design of conquering Parthia, from whence he resolved to march through Scythia, and return by Germany to Rome. When on the eve of commencing this expedition, his particular friends determined to get a decree of the senate, allowing him the title of king every where but in Italy. To support this design, it was alledged, that the Sybelline oracles declared; none but a king could ever conquer Parthia. A day was therefore appointed for his attending the senate to receive this honour. But before it was even proposed, the conspirators, who were all senators, gave him 23 stabs. It is said, he resisted till he saw Brutus strike ; when exclaiming, — and you too, Brutus, — he fell at the foot of Pompey's statue, and instantly expired.

All ancient history is full of oracles and signs, denoting the death of the greatest personages. We may however with great rea-

son, doubt the truth of such predictions, as are recorded of very remote times, and in countries where ignorance abounded. But these objections cannot be made to those things which are transmitted to us as attending the death of Cæsar. It happened in an age peculiarly distinguished for its literature; and some of the greatest Latin writers, very soon after recorded the accounts of it. If therefore we can credit any thing beyond the proof of living witnesses, we must admit, that many things out of the common course of nature, preceded Cæsar's assassination. A soothsayer had more than once bade him beware the ides of March, the time in which he fell. Both he, and his wife Calphurnia, had the most terrifying dreams, representing the manner of his death. The very night before it, the doors and windows of his chambers flew open of themselves, and a sudden light broke in upon him. A beast that was sacrificed by his orders, that the priests might divine from it, was found without a heart.

and many astonishing meteors were seen in the heavens. In short the circumstances attending this event, which was to be followed with such dreadful consequences to the Romans, would of themselves prove the existence of Spiritual Beings. And likewise, that there is an unseen management and direction of all the affairs of this world.

Julius Cæsar was slain in the 56th year of his age, and about 41 years prior to the birth of Christ. He was remarkable for his oratory and learning, and was himself a very excellent writer. Endowed with courage, generosity, humanity, and great abilities, he shone both in civil and warlike affairs. From these perfections, must be deducted his ambition, and the faults which accompanied its gratification, together with his lusts; some of which, according to the abominable and almost universal practice of the Romans, were unnatural. But as Rome was now incapable of freedom, he seems to have been the fittest of all his cotemporaries to be its master.

And his death, instead of restoring freedom, was highly destructive to his country.

The consternation at Rome was prodigious. Those who were attached to the republican government, rejoiced at the event, whilst the people at large loved Cæsar, and lamented his catastrophe. In this situation, the senate endeavoured to restore the public tranquillity, by taking a middle course. An act of oblivion was passed as to Cæsar's death. And they at the same time confirmed all his laws and regulations, with every direction left by him, as to future appointments in the state.

Cæsar having made a will, in which the people were concerned, Antony proposed in the senate, that it should be publicly read. He also moved, that the highest funeral honours, should be paid to their late dictator; in both of which he was supported by a powerful party. On the other hand, the conspirators and those of republican principles, were against Antony's propositions. But

Brutus, who was of a noble and unsuspecting nature, yielding, the opposition was dropped. And Antony not only obtained what he first wanted, but it was also added, that Cæsar should henceforth be worshipped as a God.

By Cæsar's will, Octavius, his grand nephew, was adopted as his son, and three fourths of his fortune were bequeathed to him. Several of the conspirators were also particularly remembered. But the people were raised almost to madness, when they found that Cæsar had left them, not only his fine gardens for their amusement, but also 75 Attic Drachma's to every individual. To appease the fury he saw rising, Brutus addressed the multitude. He explained the danger with which Cæsar's ambition had threatened them. And for a time their passion subsided. This was contrary to the intentions of Antony. He therefore caused the dead body to be produced, that he might speak the funeral oration. In doing so, by a most arful eloquence, he however so blended Cæsar's good actions with the manner of his

death, and the love he bore to the people, that he roused them to a degree of rage and revenge, that became irresistible. They tore down the benches of the Forum, where they were assembled, with which they raised a funeral pile, and consumed the body of their beloved patron. Having paid this honour to Cæsar, they snatched up the burning wood in order to consume the houses of the conspirators. And such was their fury, that meeting one Cinna, a poet, they put him to death for another Cinna, who was concerned in stabbing Cæsar. As for the real conspirators they escaped, by flying with the utmost precipitation. The people then raised an altar on the spot where the body had been burned, at the same time performing divine honours. And Octavius afterwards erected a temple there, with a pillar, on which was inscribed;—To the father of his country.

Antony having been named to the consulate for this year, by Cæsar, took possession of that office. Though he had instigated the late riot, he now tried and put to death

several who had been most active on that occasion, in order to ingratiate himself with the senate. And for the same purpose, he proposed what he knew would not be effected. This was the recall of Sextus Pompeius, the surviving son of Pompey the Great, and to give him the same extensive appointments which his father had formerly possessed. Taken in by these appearances, Antony's own designs were unsuspected. The senate considered him as their friend, and as the people at this time loudly accused him of ingratitude to Cæsar, that assembly was the more confirmed in this opinion. The next step of Antony, was a complaint to the senate, of his life being in danger. By such representations, he obtained leave to have a guard about his person. And under this pretence, he entertained no less than 6000 of the old legionaries, who had formerly served under him and Cæsar.

Antony now contrived to bring the secretary of Cæsar over to his interests; after which he removed to his own house all the

papers, and also the wealth of the deceased. The senate, as you have seen, confirmed every appointment made by the late Dictator. It was well known, that Cæsar had fixed the magistrates for several years, as he was going on so arduous an undertaking. But as the names of the persons to fill them, had not been promulgated, Antony and the secretary did what they pleased, passing it for the act of Cæsar. And thus, in fact, Antony was at this time uncontrouled at Rome.

Octavius the Grand, nephew of Cæsar by the female line, was at Apollonia, when he heard of his uncle's death. Though only eighteen years old, he immediately resolved to visit Italy. Brundisium, near which he landed, was full of troops that had been destined for the Parthian war. And transferring their attachment to the adopted son of Cæsar, they offered him their services, at the same time putting him in possession of very large military stores, and a very considerable sum of money.

In his way to Rome Octavius entered into

a treaty with Cicero, by which they were mutually to aid each other; the latter by his eloquence and the former by his protection. In Campania Octavius was joined by vast numbers of Caesar's immediate adherents; and as he drew near to the capital, the magistrates, senators, and principal citizens went out to meet him, Antony alone excepted. The fact was, that Antony dreaded his approach, and resolved, if possible, to crush this rising and this formidable rival.

Octavius began with demanding the fortune Caesar had bequeathed him. Antony, however, under one pretence or other, not only withheld the ready money, which he had possessed himself of, but he also threw very great obstacles in his way as to the real estates. This the policy of Octavius, now styled Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus, or Octavius, turned to his advantage. He pointed out to the people the injustice with which he was treated. He then told them, that they should not suffer from his uncle's fortune being withheld; for he would pay

them their legacies out of his own. And to prove his sincerity, he immediately in part discharged them.

Having thus secured the affections of the people, Octavius was able to contend with Antony. And the latter thought it best to come to a temporary accommodation, during which he got himself appointed to the command of the forces in Gaul. New disputes and new reconciliations however took place between these rivals for power, till at length both had recourse to arms. Antony being absent, Octavius entered Rome at the head of an army, though he was not invested with any one appointment of the state. Notwithstanding this, Cicero exerted all his eloquence in favour of Octavius, at the same time that he uttered the most vehement accusations against Antony. And the senate, who equally hated Octavius and his competitor, being awed by the forces of the former, declared Antony an enemy to his country.

The pretence for this vote was, that Decimus Brutus, though one of the conspirators,

had been appointed by Julius Cæsar to the command in Cisalpine Gaul, notwithstanding which, Antony took that post under a subsequent vote of the people. The two Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, who had been ordered to reduce Antony, were now defeated, and lost their lives in the attempt. But Decimus Brutus, with his forces, proving more successful, Antony was obliged to retreat into Transalpine Gaul.

The senate, which secretly favoured the conspirators, on this occasion paid some particular honours to Decimus Brutus. This very highly offended Octavius, who was at the head of a very considerable army, and he meditated vengeance. For this purpose he began a secret correspondence with Antony, on the subject of uniting their forces. And no doubt he perceived that it was absolutely necessary, if he meant to suppress the republicans, as Brutus and Cassius were at this time raising both men and money in the eastern provinces.

When Antony got beyond the Alps, he

solicited a junction with Lepidus, who was at the head of seven legions. This, Lepidus refused, though he suffered Antony to incamp in his neighbourhood. The consequence was, that Antony, by his address, got the adjacent army so entirely of his party, that Lepidus was glad to come in, as the only means of retaining his power. All the forces that were detached in this quarter followed the example. And in a very short time Antony and Lepidus had 23 legions, besides 10,000 horse at their command.

When this intelligence arrived at Rome, Lepidus was also declared an enemy to his country. To oppose the army from Gaul, Decimus Brutus, and Octavius, were ordered to make the necessary levies, and to take the field. By this authority Octavius greatly augmented his troops, and the first use he made of them was to terrify the senate; for they now appointed him Consul, though that honour had just before been refused him. At the same time Octavius shewed a coolness for Cicero, that presaged his subsequent fate.

And it is allowed that the orator, who in his heart was a friend to the conspirators, had acted equivocally in his pretended attachment to Octavius Cæsar.

One of the first acts of the new Consul and his colleague, who was a creature of his own, was a public condemnation of all the conspirators. This involved in it Decimus Brutus, though at the head of an army in Cisalpine Gaul, which was apparently on the same side with Octavius. But it was only apparently, for Antony and Lepidus, by appointment, now passed the Alps, and the army of Brutus deserting him, he was soon after taken and put to death. The secret correspondence between Octavius and his supposed enemies being still unknown, he marched as if to give them battle. And having encamped very near them, as had been preconcerted, he met Antony and Lepidus in a small island on the river Rhodanus. There they fixed on the terms of their union, the chief articles of which were as follow: They were to divide the whole power of the state

amongst them. Antony was to have the government of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, Narbonne excepted. Narbonne and the two Spains were to be under Lepidus. Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily were allotted to Octavius. And Italy, with the eastern provinces, were left in common. Lepidus was to continue at Rome, whilst the other two should lead the forces against Brutus and Cassius. They then fixed on a number of the chief men, who should be immediately proscribed. In doing this they agreed not to oppose the doom of any one named by any of the three, let the connexion be ever so near, or the friendship ever so strong. Besides those who were to bleed to their safety and resentment, others were doomed on account of their riches; for as all that fell were to forfeit what they possessed, this was one of the modes fixed on for filling the coffers of this detestable triumvirate.

Having decided what immediately related to themselves, their next object was to secure the fidelity of the soldiery. They therefore

agreed, that as soon as Brutus and Cassius should be subdued, every private legionary was to receive 5000 drachma's. To each centurion 25,000 were to be paid; and the military tribunes were to have double that sum. And over and above these vast gratuities, they were all to be provided with houses and lands in Italy. When this was made known to the troops, they expressed the most extravagant joy, declaring the utmost fidelity and strictest obedience to the commands of their leaders. The army being thus secured, for form sake, an assembly of the people was called at Rome; and by it, the supreme authority was vested in these three betrayers of their country.

The horrors that ensued are better conceived than described; 300 senators, and upwards of 2000 knights were doomed to death. Rome and its neighbourhood presented nothing to the view but scenes of blood.—Amongst those who perished was Cicero, who met his fate with more fortitude than his life had promised. He was one of the

greatest orators the world ever produced, Demosthenes alone being considered as his competitor in eloquence. They were, however, very different in their manner. Cicero was full of figure, and more diffuse and subtle in his arguments. On the other hand, Demosthenes was bold, nervous, and concise; and, for my own part, I would rather imitate the latter than the former. Besides his excellence as a speaker, Cicero was a man of great literature, and several very fine prose compositions of his have reached our times. Having said thus much of his head, I shall add a little on the subject of his heart. It appears that he was strongly inclined to virtue, and also a lover of his country. But he had a natural timidity, which counteracted his good intentions. In the contest after Caesar's death, he wavered between his love of freedom and his personal safety. He thought the side of Brutus and Cassius the weakest; and though his heart was with them, his tongue was exerted in favour of Octavius. This was without doubt an en-

manly part; but we ought not to be too severe in our censures. As I before said, it was his misfortune to be timid. And I believe the greatest faults of this celebrated Roman, arose from fears he was not able to controul. He was slain in the 64th year of his age, and his head and right hand were brought to Antony. Both he and his wife, on seeing them, expressed the most indecent joy, adding insults to these poor remains. And they were then placed on that rostra from which Cicero had so often distinguished himself.

Brutus and Cassius having assembled their forces at Sardis in Asia Minor, passed from thence into Europe. To oppose them, Antony and Octavius likewise crossed the seas with their forces, making Greece and Macedonia the seat of war. After some trivial manœuvres, the two armies encamped on the plains of Philippi. For some time they remained inactive, though in view of each other; but Brutus at length resolved on an engagement, though contrary to the advice

of Cassius. In the action that followed, the wing which Cassius commanded was beat by Antony. But Brutus was equally successful against Octavius, who, instead of leading on his wing, concealed himself before the engagement commenced. And this battle being totally indecisive, both armies returned to their former stations.

The sole command now devolved on Brutus; for Cassius being ignorant of his colleague's success, had, after his own defeat, rashly put an end to himself. Brutus's fleet, at this time, beat the enemy's, which occasioned a great scarcity of provisions in the camps of Antony and Octavius. He therefore sought to avoid a second engagement, as much as he had favoured the first. But Brutus was forced by the impatience of his army to resolve on another action.

The second battle of Philippi proved fatal to the cause of the conspirators. In it many brave Romans fell, and amongst others Marcus Cato, the son of Cato, who slew himself at Utica, and who was also a zealous friend

to the republic. As for Brutus he escaped from the field, but finding all was over, he slew himself, having lived near 43 years. When his remains were brought before the victors, Octavius, who had so lately cowardly hid himself from the living Brutus, basely insulted his dead body. He likewise caused numbers who were taken, to be put to death. But Antony behaved with moderation, and in some instances he even acted with generosity.

It is related by the best historians, that a spectre or ghost appeared two different times to Brutus, telling him it was his evil genius, and would meet him at Philippi. That Brutus said so, cannot be doubted; and from his character, no man could be supposed freere from a weakness of imagination. The subsequent events also justified the prediction; nor was it by any means certain, that an action would have taken place at Philippi when the spectre first appeared to him, it having happened at Sardis, in Asia Minor.

The success of this battle, which was fought

in the year 37, put the triumvirate in possession of the whole empire, Sicily excepted. In that island Sextus Pompey was still at the head of a formidable power. Octavius, therefore, returned to Italy, with a view to subdue him, whilst Antony passed into Asia to settle the Eastern provinces. Here, as you have before seen, he was captivated by the Egyptian Queen. And leaving every thing to his lieutenants, he repaired to Alexandria.

When Octavius relanded in Italy, he immediately set about the performance of the promise made to the soldiery. Numbers of the Italians were dispossessed of their lands and houses to make room for them, which occasioned various disputes, not only with the unfortunate inhabitants, but amongst the soldiers themselves. Those who had more particularly belonged to Antony, alleged, Octavius had been partial to his own. In this they were joined by Fulvia the wife, and L. Antonius, the brother of Antony; till at length a mutiny took place;

which was quelled by Octavius with the greatest difficulty.

Amongst those who were dispossessed by the foldiers, was Virgil, the celebrated Latin poet. He had a farm near Mantua, which was taken from him; and at the same time he very narrowly escaped with his life. But going to Rome, he found protection from Mæcenas and Asinius Pollio, both of whom, but particularly the former, were friends to literature; and at their intercession, his property was restored to him.

Octavius soon after this exasperated Fulvia, the wife of Antony, beyond measure. In order to strengthen the union of the Triumvirate, he had formerly married Clodia, the daughter of Fulvia, whom he now divorced, swearing at the same time, that she was yet a virgin, as for him. Fulvia on this, put herself at the head of Antony's followers, forming a camp at Præneste. And Lucius Antonius took post in the city of Perusia. It was besieged and taken by Octavius; when Fulvia thought proper to retire into

Greece. For a short time after, Tiberius Claudius Nero defended Antony's cause. But finding himself unsupported, he took shelter in Sicily, together with his wife Livia and his son Tiberius, who was afterwards Emperor. Thus ended this short civil war in the year 35.

Antony was at length roused from his in-
 satiation. He set out for Italy, making
 Athens his route, where he met his wife Ful-
 via. He accused her of being the cause of
 all the misfortunes which had lately happen-
 ed. And she certainly had provoked Octa-
 vius without being prepared for him; one
 cause of which, was the desire of drawing
 her husband from the arms of Cleopatra. It
 did not however answer her expectations, for
 Antony left her sick behind him, which, ad-
 ded to her grief at his unkindness, put an
 end to her life. As for Antony, he was
 fortunate enough to be joined by Domitius
 Ahenobarbus, who commanded a fleet of the
 republican party. And they began with ho-

sieging Brundisium in Italy, which was garrisoned by the soldiers of Octavius.

These hostilities were of short duration. By the interference of some common friends, a reconciliation took place. And in order to render it lasting, Octavia, the sister of Octavius, lately become a widow, was given in marriage to Antony. She was extremely beautiful, and possessed of all those qualities which render women truly estimable. But perfections like these were thrown away on such a debauchee as Antony.

In consequence of these nuptials, a new arrangement took place as to the empire. All the countries westward of Codropolis, a town in Illyricum, was to belong to Octavius. Those to the eastward were allotted to Antony. Italy was to remain in common. And as for Lepidus, he was to have no more than part of Africa, from the kingdom of Cyrene to the Atlantic, where he at present commanded.

Pompey, who had a very powerful fleet, and was possessed of Sicily, had reduced

Rome to great streights, by withholding the usual supplies of corn. This created great murmurings amongst the people, and an interview was solicited with Pompey, by Octavius and Antony. It accordingly took place on the coast of Italy. The consequence was, an agreement, by which Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the adjacent islands, were to belong to Pompey; and Peloponnesus was also to be delivered up to him. He was likewise to be allowed to demand the consulate at Rome, and to serve that office by a deputy. The dignity of Pontifex Maximus, was to be conferred on him, and he was to receive 70,000 great Sesterces, on account of the confiscation of his father's fortune. Pompey also provided for the return of them who had relied on him for protection. Such as had taken shelter with him merely from fear, were to be fully restored to their possessions. Those who had been proscribed, but who had no actual hand in the death of Julius Cæsar, were also to be admitted to Rome, and one

fourth of their property was to be returned. These were the chief articles of this convention, and they were solemnly ratified by all the parties.

Business being over, they agreed to entertain each other by turns. It fell to Pompey's lot to give the first, which was provided on board his ship, a temporary bridge being thrown from her to the shore. When all were merry with wine, Menas, an officer of Pompey, proposed to him to carry them off, and thereby render himself master of the world. Pompey however nobly rejected so perfidious a scheme; and after his feast had been returned on shore by Octavius and Antony, they parted with mutual vows of friendship.

Antony, accompanied by Octavia, again quitted Italy, wintering at Athens, whilst the Parthian war was entrusted to Ventidius, his lieutenant. Octavius repaired to Rome, where he soon after became enamoured of Livia, the wife of Claudius Tiberius Nero. Nero had regained his country by means of

Pompey's late treaty; and he probably did not chuse to oppose the inclinations of Octavius. But certain it is, that the latter divorced his then wife Scribonia, and married Livia, though she was big with child to Nero when these extraordinary nuptials were celebrated.

Pompey and Octavius did not long continue on good terms. Their misunderstanding at length terminated in open hostilities. For some time the arms of Octavius were very successful. He afterwards, however, lost two engagements by sea, and those ships that escaped the enemy, were mostly destroyed in a subsequent storm.

In this distress, Antony was requested to come to the aid of Octavius. But before his arrival, Agrippa, who commanded in Gaul, having settled some dangerous commotions in that quarter, Octavius repented of his invitation. This ended in Antony's being offended at the coolness with which he was received. Octavius however restored them to

good terms with each other. Antony then set out to command in person against the Parthians. And Octavia being great with child, remained at Rome till affairs should be perfectly settled in her husband's division of the empire.

The war between Octavius and Pompey, was attended with various success, till at length Lepidus, in support of the former, arrived in Sicily with a considerable force from Africa. This turned the scale, and Octavius having also made good a landing on that island, their joint forces besieged Pompey in the city of Messina. The fleets of the contending parties were notwithstanding still nearly equal, and it was agreed to try their strength on that element. The contest was long and bloody, but it ended in the total defeat of Pompey. This success was entirely owing to the courage and conduct of Agrippa. For Octavius in the very beginning of the engagement, lay down in the bottom of his ship, where he remained till the action was over. The apo-

logy afterwards made by his friends, was, that he was seized with a sudden and deep sleep. But his former conduct at Philippi, leaves no room to doubt of his cowardice.

Pompey having fled with a few ships that were left him, Messana very soon surrendered, and all Sicily submitted to the conquerors. A civil broil however took place. Octavius not being present when Messana surrendered, Lepidus incorporated all the legions he found there, and which had served under Pompey, into his own army. By this manœuvre, he saw himself at the head of 22 legions, which was infinitely superior to the force under Octavius. He therefore resolved to oblige his colleague to give him his full third of the empire. Octavius for a time appeared to comply, entering into a negotiation on that subject, whilst he was underhand corrupting the chief officers of Lepidus. This he accomplished so effectually, that the whole army of his competitor declared for him. Lepidus, who was

both weak and timid, threw himself on the mercy of Octavius. And as he was no object of fear, he was granted his life, besides the enjoyment of his private fortune.

Octavius had by these means acquired a most formidable army. But their expectations were so high, and their dispositions so turbulent, that he was glad to disband the greatest part of it. By the conquest of Sicily, plenty was restored at Rome. And as Octavius had the credit of it, he was received with the highest honours. This popularity he endeavoured to increase by every possible means, in order to undermine Antony, who was the only obstacle to his becoming the sole master of the Roman empire.

Pompey landed in Asia, after his defeat in Sicily, where he attempted to revive his party. To this he was encouraged by the news of Antony's ill success against the Parthians, and that he had again abandoned himself to the charms of Cleopatra. He was, however, in a short time defeated by one of Antony's lieutenants, and soon after put to death.

Octavia had gone as far as Athens in her way to join her husband, when she received orders from him to return to Rome. This she complied with without a murmur, and her correct behaviour in every thing, made the conduct of Antony still more odious. He was indeed become extremely unpopular in Italy, which was greatly increased by his entering Alexandria in triumph, an honour which they conceived belonged to Rome alone. All these things were heightened by the intrigues and accusations of Octavius. Other allegations and charges were made by Antony against his rival. And at length hostilities were openly declared.

Ephesus was the place where Antony directed his forces to assemble. Thither he was accompanied by Cleopatra, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his best friends. From Ephesus he proceeded to the island of Samos, where he gave himself up to an excess of pleasure that is hardly credible. Every kind of amusement was blended with his warlike preparations. Vessels from all quar-

ters, crowded with players, buffoons, and different kinds of artists, daily arrived. The tributary kings, who served under him, vied with each other in their shews and entertainments. And every species of extravagance and dissipation was carrying on at Samos, as if the reveller Antony had already proved victorious.

From Samos, he passed over to Athens, where he abandoned himself to similar pursuits. Whilst there, he divorced the virtuous Octavia, by which he lost his few remaining friends at Rome. He was also deserted by many who were immediately about him, owing to the haughtiness and unbecoming insolence of Cleopatra. A paper war at this time commenced between Antony and Octavius. The former accused the latter of impiety, lust, and cowardice. He particularised his having once presided as Apollo, whilst other men and women represented the rest of the twelve great Deities, at an entertainment attended with the grossest debaucheries. Octavius, in return, accused him of

his excesses, and his treatment of Octavia. Neither mentioned the blood they had so unjustly shed, and probably, it was because it would have been difficult to prove which had been most guilty.

A more active scene succeeded this empty contest. Antony having taken post near Actium, a city of Greece, situated at the entrance of the Ambracian gulph, Octavius fixed himself on the opposite shore. The fleets of both co-operated with their respective land forces, and the sea which divided their camps was very narrow. Whilst they remained in this situation, Agrippa, with a flying squadron, on board of which was a small body of land forces, gained many advantages for Octavius: For with his armament, he ravaged several parts of the Grecian coast. On the other hand, Antony was unsuccessful in all the trivial encounters that happened. And this appearance of a declining fortune, induced numbers to desert him. To give a turn to his affairs, he therefore resolved on a sea engagement. This was

opposed by many of his best officers, but Cleopatra, who was attended by the Egyptian fleet, being for it, their advice was despised and neglected. The action, which Cleopatra had thus occasioned, was scarcely commenced, when overcome by her fears, she fled with the Egyptian squadron; and Antony, forgetful of all that he owed to his fame, to his fortunes, and to his faithful followers, was the companion of her flight. Notwithstanding this desertion of their leader, the fleet which he left behaved with the greatest bravery. Overcome by the superior force of Octavius, they were however at length obliged to yield; which was immediately followed by the submission of the army near Actium. And thus, in the year 26 before Christ, the fate of the Roman empire was decided.

Octavius, following his victory, laid siege to Alexandria, where Antony and Cleopatra met with that fate which you are already acquainted with. Having settled affairs in the east, Octavius then repaired to Rome. There

he celebrated three magnificent triumphs, in which he displayed such immense wealth, that the interest of money instantly fell from ten to four per cent.

Sole master of the Roman empire, Octavius meditated a resignation of the supreme authority almost in the moment he obtained it. The fate of Julius Cæsar filled his soul with terror; whilst the example of Sylla's abdication gave him room to look for safety by a similar conduct. Undecided in himself, he consulted Agrippa and Maecenas, two men whom he most relied on. The first, who was a man of worth and virtue, advised him to restore the liberty of Rome. The latter argued on the other hand, that the situation of affairs would not permit it, and that it was inconsistent with his private safety. This opinion, strengthened by his natural ambition, prevailed. But at the same time Octavius resolved to make the yoke sit light upon the Romans, and by every possible means to conciliate their affections.

In the year 22. before Christ, the senate

and people united in voting Octavius absolute power, at the same time bestowing on him the title of Augustus. This form being passed through, for they could not do otherwise, Octavius, now Augustus Cæsar, rewarded and regulated his army. He kept 29 legions on foot, as the constant establishment; and they were distributed in those provinces which bounded the empire. The disbanded soldiers he divided into 32 colonies, all of which he settled in Italy, so that, if occasion required, he knew whereto raise an army almost on the instant. And for the immediate protection of himself and the city, he had twelve cohorts, consisting of 10,000 men. Three of these cohorts were called Urbanæ, and nine of them Prætorian, but were generally altogether distinguished by the latter appellation. On the sea, two fleets were constantly kept up. And these armaments were deemed sufficient, except when extraordinary occasions should call for more vigorous exertions.

Agreeable to his scheme of rendering him-

self pleasing. Augustus concealed his power under all the ancient forms. Consuls, and all the other magistrates, were elected at the stated times. The senate met as usual, and though the will of Augustus actually did every thing, these appearances were extremely soothing and agreeable. In pursuit of the same plan, the provinces were distinguished into two sorts; the one Senatorial—the other Imperial. To the first, which were all near home, and in which there were no armies stationed, he allowed the senate to appoint governors out of their own body. To the latter he himself appointed all officers, thereby delicately securing the continuance of his power. And the senate and people were probably sincere in the honours they heaped upon him, one of which was the appellation of Father of his Country.

The fame of Augustus had extended itself so far, that ambassadors waited on him from the Scythians, Sarmatians, Indians, and the Seres, all of whom courted his alliance. The Seres are supposed to be the same of the

Chinese. And this is the first trace we find of that people in ancient history.

Some trivial revolts were suppressed in Spain. An unsuccessful attempt upon the Arabs was made by the governor of Egypt. And a trivial war with the Ethiopians, ended in that people's soliciting and obtaining a peace from Augustus.

Notwithstanding the politic conduct of the Emperor, a conspiracy was formed against him. Muræna, and Pannius Cæpio were the leaders, but they were discovered and put to death. Augustus conceived, that nothing could tend more to prevent such attempts in future, than to raise up one he could confide in, who would in such a case succeed him. He therefore made Agrippa divorce a wife he then had, in order to make him his son-in-law. And having given him his daughter Julia in marriage, he raised Agrippa to the important office of Governor of Rome.

After this arrangement, Augustus visited Greece, from whence he passed into Asia, with a design to attack the Parthians. This

was prevented by their restoring all the prisoners and trophies taken at the battle of Carphæ. Augustus was farther gratified, by Porus, an Indian king, who said he had 600 petty princes under him, soliciting his alliance and friendship. And having settled affairs in the east, the Emperor returned to Rome.

In Africa, Lucius Cornelius Balbus added somewhat to the Roman empire, extending its boundary as far as the river Nigris. Some insurrections in Germany appearing of consequence, Agrippa was ordered into that quarter, where he was attended with his usual success, and again repaired to the capital.

Augustus was, however, far from easy as to his personal safety. For a time, none were suffered to approach him without being searched. Several senators were degraded, and some whom he more strongly suspected put to death. Besides these precautions, he heaped new honours on Agrippa; and that the succession in his family might be strengthened, he declared two sons that Julia had

borne him to be the successors to the empire. This conduct was extremely pleasing to the Romans; for besides the great and good qualities of Agrippa, he had greatly improved the city of Rome. Amongst other things, he had built the Pantheon, for the general reception of all the Roman deities. And whilst he, by this and other acts, endeared himself to the people, his successes and attention to the soldiers that served under him, rendered him the idol of the army. This was far from raising any jealousy in the Emperor, because he knew the virtue of his son-in-law. And on the contrary he very justly considered him as the surest barrier against his own destruction.

Agrippa was ordered into the east, where some disturbances had arisen; and Augustus went into Gaul to settle a revolt. It was occasioned by the extortions of Enceladus, who received the taxes; but on his paying the Emperor most of the plunder, he was continued in his office. This commotion was scarcely suppressed, when the Eburaci, a people

from the Rhine, entered Italy, committing the most dreadful ravages. Against them Drusus, the second son of Livia by Nero, led an army which drove them beyond the Alps. But being joined by the Vindelici and Norici, they turned their arms towards Gaul, where Augustus still continued. These nations were the most warlike of the Germans, but Drusus being joined by his elder brother Tiberius, they compleatly overthrew them. And not long after this, the Ligures Comati, a people of the maritime Alps, who had yet held out, were reduced and turned into a Roman province.

Augustus continued three years absent from Rome. This was owing to his attachment to Terentia, the wife of his friend Mæcenas, whom he had debauched, and carried along with him : And he did not choose to be interrupted in his pleasures either by the presence of Mæcenas or his own wife Livia. On his return from this expedition, he took the office of Pontifex Maximus, which had

become vacant; and it ever after belonged to the Emperors.

Agrippa in the east reduced the Bosphorians, soon after which he died. The grief at his death was sincere, and Augustus appeared to be deeply afflicted. He left two sons by Julia, named Caius and Lucius; and a third born after his death, was called after his father. As Caius was too young to supply the place of Agrippa, the Emperor resolved to confide in Tiberius, the son of Livia. He therefore ordered him to divorce his then wife, after which he gave him Julia in marriage. Though Julia had long been notorious for the grossest lowdness, Tiberius made no objections; and he was soon after entrusted with the forces against the Pannonians, who had revolted. His brother Drusus was continued in Gaul, which he not only kept quiet, but was able to prevail on sixty Gaulish nations to erect an altar to Augustus, and worship him as a deity; and he extended the Roman arms into Friesland and Westphalia, where they had not before penetrat-

ed. Tiberius was likewise successful in his expedition, and some insurrections in Thrace were quelled by L. Calpurnius Piso.

Augustus having resolved on the reduction of Germany, passed the Alps with his sons in law Tiberius and Drusus. The first he sent against the Daci, and the latter was directed to pursue his conquests. Drusus was so successful, that all the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe were obliged to submit. His career was here to have its end, for a fever deprived him of life. He was esteemed a man of great virtue, and is said to have meditated a restoration of the freedom of his country. On his death, which was greatly lamented, the sole command of the German war devolved on Tiberius, who was also attended with very considerable success.

On their revisiting the capital, Augustus complimented Livia with a temple, which he erected to her; and at the same time he conferred the honour of a triumph on Tiberius. But Augustus likewise very particularly distinguished his grandsons, Caius and Lu-

cius Cæsar. Either piqued at this, or offended at the enormous debancheries of Julia, Tiberius asked leave to retire. Having obtained this request with some difficulty, he went into Rhodes, where he lived with great privacy. But he soon wished himself again in the court of Augustus, and had the mortification to be denied that favour.

Though Julia had been profligate to an incredible excess, it had hitherto been concealed from her father. Her conduct was at length disclosed to him, and he is said to have felt the most poignant sorrow. This was still increased, when he learned the daughter of Julia, who bore the same name, and who had married L. Paulus, imitated her mother's example. He banished them into separate islands on the coast of Italy, where none were allowed to approach them but by his orders; and they were confined to the plainest sustenance. The paramours of his daughter he either exiled or put to death. Vast numbers came really under this description. But it is alledged, that some

who were innocent partook of the punishment, in order that the Emperor might rid himself, under this pretence, of men that he dreaded.

To divert his own grief, and to amuse the people, Augustus invented a new entertainment. Chariot races, representations on the stage, men combating with lions, tigers, and rhinoceroses, had long been practised; but a fight with crocodiles had never been exhibited. For this purpose a canal was formed 1800 paces in length, and 200 in breadth, round which seats were provided for the spectators. Being filled with water, a great many of crocodiles were put into the canal, and a number of Egyptians then engaged them, killing 36 of those animals. This sport was succeeded by a fight almost as novel. A fleet had been fitted out after the Grecian manner, and another which was to oppose it, took the Persian model. These vessels were all manned with condemned persons, who had orders to fight furiously, and the great

est part of them perished in the presence of the people.

The Armenians, much about this time, deposed their king Artabazes, and set up Tigranes in his stead. As this was in fact a revolt from their tributary state, it was incumbent on Augustus to restore the deposed monarch; but he was greatly at a loss who to send into the east, well knowing the danger that might arise from the commander of a victorious army. He therefore thought it the least evil to appoint his grandson, Caius Cæsar, though only nineteen, to this important trust; and he settled every thing in a manner highly satisfactory to his grandfather.

The temple of Janus had only been twice shut prior to the reign of Augustus. After his success against Antony, it was at two different periods for a short time closed; and now, for a third time, this emblem of peace was again exhibited. From the foundation of Rome there had not been so universal tranquillity as now appeared in the world;

and in this auspicious interval the Prince of Peace, and Saviour of mankind was born.

Livia, who seems for a time to have lost her influence over the Emperor, now regained it. This she did by procuring the finest women at Rome for the gratification of Augustus. And at last she prevailed on him to recall her son Tiberius, though on the express condition, that he was not to intermeddle in public affairs. The death of Lucius Cæsar happened soon after his return; and it was not very long before Caius died also. The latter was wounded in a war which broke out with the Parthians; but as he survived it for some time, Livia was suspected of hastening his fate; nor was she free from suspicion as to Lucius. Be that as it may, she got Augustus to adopt Tiberius, together with Agrippa, his surviving grandson. And Agrippa being a youth of no expectation, every one looked up to Tiberius as the sole successor to the empire.

Cornelius Cinna, a grandson of Pompey

the Great, was now discovered at the head of a conspiracy, which took in many of the chief men at Rome. Augustus, on receiving this information, was at a loss how to avert the danger that threatened him; but by the advice of Livia, he resolved on clemency. Cinna was sent for, and informed his design was discovered. Instead of punishing him, he was forgiven, and appointed Consul for the next year; and Cinna not only suppressed what had been intended, but continued from thenceforth most warmly attached to Augustus.

Either from his ill conduct, or what is more likely, from the intrigues of Livia and her son, Agrippa was banished by his grandfather. Tiberius, and his nephew and adopted son Germanicus, the son of Drusus, were the first in Augustus's confidence; and both were successfully employed in the suppression of revolts in Germany, Panonia, and Dalmatia. But about the 11th year of the Christian Era, the greatest part of the Roman forces in Germany were cut to pieces. This was

owing to the extortions of Quintilius Varrus, who had been left to command there, and who thereby occasioned a very general revolt. Tiberius was immediately dispatched, with a great reinforcement; he gave a favourable turn to affairs; and Germanicus, who succeeded him in the command, was still more successful. But tranquility was not perfectly re-established till after the death of Augustus.

Towards the close of the Emperor's reign, Tiberius became the full partner of his power. His death happened in the 15th year of Christ, and the 75th year of his own age. Augustus met his end with more composure than could have been expected, when we consider the pusillanimity of his life: He called for a looking-glass, by the help of which he smoothed his hair, and the wrinkles in his cheeks, as was then customary for players to do in such scenes upon the stage. Having done this, he asked those about him, whether he had not acted his part well? They replied, that he had, on which he bade them clap

him, for it was ended. And then turning to Livia, he desired her to remember those ties which had united their affections, and quietly expired. Livia was however suspected of having hastened this event, from an apprehension, that he would have been reconciled to Agrippa, to whom he had lately paid a visit.

By his last will, the empire was left to Tiberius; and several donations were bequeathed to the soldiers and the Roman people. His body being consumed, the ashes were put into an urn of gold, and deposited in a magnificent mausoleum, erected by himself. Divine honours were decreed him, together with a temple, in which both priests and priestesses were to officiate. The chief priestess was Livia, to whom the additional name of Augusta was given. It is somewhat singular, that as a senator had sworn formerly, he had seen Romulus ascend to heaven, so now a member of the senate solemnly deposed, he beheld the soul of Augustus take the same course. This was Numericus Atticus, to

whom Livia gave 10,000 great sesterces, as a reward for this information; and temples were every where erected to the new deity throughout the Roman empire.

Before I proceed to the character of Augustus, it will not be amiss to take a concise view of the age in which he reigned. From the time that the Roman arms penetrated into Greece and the Asiatic provinces, all the arts and ornaments of those countries, together with their literature, wealth, and luxuries, were flowing into Rome. But the constant foreign wars, and latterly their still more dreadful civil dissensions, retarded those things from rising to their summit. These obstacles were, however, removed by the death of Antony, and in the long interval from thence to the year 15 of the Christian Æra, the tranquility of Rome and Italy was scarcely disturbed. Literature, and all the arts and sciences then known, were therefore cultivated without interruption in the capital of that vast empire where they had

centered. Instigated by Mæcenæ and others, and probably by his own love of fame, those who were possessed of great abilities, met with the greatest encouragement from Augustus. And certainly there was no period prior to this, in which so many men of genius appeared, or when the manual arts were brought to greater perfection. But at the same time vice also triumphed, and virtue, both public and private, was almost unknown.

The success of literature and the arts, cannot be ascribed to any peculiar merit in the Emperor. We can trace their progressive rise before he attained his power, and particularly in regard to literature. Terence, the comic poet, flourished about the year 145, and Polybius, the historian, much about the same time. Neither of these indeed were Romans by birth, but they settled at Rome, and were of the first eminence there in their respective lines. Taken up with perpetual wars, the Romans themselves had very little attended to literature; but by the times of Julius Cæsar, we find it was arduously cul-

tivated by the greatest men then living. Caesar himself, was almost as good an author as he was a general. Cicero was eminent in his compositions. Cornelius Nepos, Diodorus Siculus, and C. Sallustius Crispus, all of whom were historians, then flourished. In the reign of Augustus, learning still farther advanced, and poetry obtained the highest pitch it ever arrived at amongst the Romans, or perhaps in the world. Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, were the first of these poets, and next to them Lucretius, Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, besides many others. History had not yet reached its highest pinnacle, though Dionysius Halycarnassius, Titus Livius, and Velleius Paterculus, who now wrote, were eminent writers. It is true, neither these authors, nor the different artists, would have been equally successful in days of turbulence. But the tranquility that served them, arose from circumstances, and not from Augustus. He might indeed have wantonly shed the blood of senators and citizens.

though he had no competitor. But his doing so, would have been unwise and impolitic, as well as inhuman. And his abstaining from such acts, when he had no motive to commit them, can have no claim to our applause.

Having premised thus far, I shall briefly recapitulate the leading features in the character of this celebrated Emperor. Augustus had great abilities, with an application that called them into action. His ambition was unbounded, and to obtain his ends, no wickedness was an obstacle. His favour with Julius Cæsar, his great uncle, is said to have been owing to his being his catamite. And he is accused of having afterwards submitted to the same infamous crime with the Consul Hirtius, who bribed him with a large sum of money. For the purposes of power and revenge, he joined in the most unmerciful proscriptions, sparing neither the connections of friendship or of blood. Some authors attempt a wretched palliative for such crimes, alledging that they arose from necessity, and

that his temper was not naturally cruel. If this was even admitted, I am not sure but it would add to his guilt. There is however one single fact, that I think determines this point. During his first consulate, he accused the Prætor Quintus Gellius of a design against his life, and got him condemned without any positive proof. Not content with this, he indulged his feelings by putting Gellius's eyes out with his own hands, though he had formerly been under great obligations to him. After which the sentence was executed by the usual officer. And such is the native humanity which some, who seek to favour Augustus, have ventured to contend for.

When the supreme power was obtained, Augustus certainly changed his conduct. Except in a few instances, his hands were no longer stained with blood. Many wholesome laws were enacted and enforced. But he himself practised with impunity, some of those very crimes for which others were punished with death. To the poets, historians, and

other men of genius, he behaved with great liberality; and besides gratifying the Roman people with expensive shews and entertainments, he often attended to the wants of individuals; but we must not be deceived by these external appearances. Hypocrisy and policy had been his constant attendants, whilst rising to power, and the same arts were now exerted in a different shape, to retain it with safety. From the conquered and tributary provinces, he had nothing to fear. They were therefore plundered through the medium of his creatures, and no extortion was punished, provided he was made a sharer in the spoil. As he always lived amidst the Roman people or soldiers, danger could only arise from them. The wealth he thus unjustly amassed, was therefore spent in securing their affections and disarming their resentments. And an almost oppressed world groaned beneath his yoke, that he might have the means of gilding those chains which were imposed upon his country.

In private life he was equally detestable.

After those dreadful scenes which gave him what ambition demanded, lust became the predominant passion. In the case of Mæcenas's wife, we perceive the sacred name of friendship was no barrier. The love he pretended to Livia, could not prevent the most open infidelity; and with a want of delicacy, as well as virtue that is almost incredible, he at length made her the procuress to his pleasures.

To briefly sum up this character, I will say, Augustus was a man of great abilities, who, without personal courage, raised himself to the supreme power; whose success was chiefly owing to hypocrisy, and a heart devoid of justice and humanity. Who removed all that were obstacles to his ambition, without remorse or hesitation. Whose munificent acts arose from motives of interest, safety, or a regard to future fame. Whose love was merely lust, without fidelity or delicacy. Whose ideas of friendship could not restrain him from the most grievous of injuries, to the man he called his friend. In

short, Augustus was that selfish wretch who studied in every thing his own gratification. And to accomplish it, the misery of an individual, or of a world, was equally indifferent. Such is the true portrait of him, whom Horace, Virgil, and other mercenary pens, have celebrated. And such the new Deity, which was adored by the corrupt and venal Romans.

Tiberius began his reign with the murder of Agrippa, the grandson of Augustus. Julia, his wife, he let perish for want; but her vices might justify this act of the new emperor. His treatment of his mother, who in fact raised him to the empire, has no excuse, for he almost immediately behaved to her with the greatest contempt.

The forces in Panonia having revolted, and put many of their officers to death, Tiberius sent his son Drusus against them. On this occasion, an eclipse of the moon so terrified the insurgents, that they submitted. But a revolt amongst the German legions had like to have proved more serious. For

Germanicus, who commanded in Gaul, setting out to appease it, they insisted on raising him to the Imperial dignity. This he however absolutely refused, and being the idol of the army, he at length brought them to acknowledge Tiberius. After which he led all the forces in this quarter against some of the German nations, which were yet unsubdued; and by his successes he added considerably to his former glory.

Though Germanicus's late conduct ought to have convinced Tiberius he had nothing to fear from him, yet he became extremely jealous of his fame. He therefore concealed his own vices, and by his clemency and mildness, endeavoured to raise his reputation. He lessened the taxes on the provinces; he also applied himself to reform the manners of the people. And he not only encouraged, but set an example in his own manner of living, of frugality.

The successes of Germanicus were such, that all that part of the world, would in all likelihood have been subdued, had he been

suffered to continue. Tiberius was resolved not to permit him to pursue his conquests, from an increase of jealousy, which his chief minister Sejanus, carefully fomented. And he was therefore recalled, under the pretence of honouring him with a triumph. Much about the same time, Libo Drusus was accused of consulting with magicians how to destroy the emperor; and he put himself to death, rather than abide the event of a trial. One of the magicians was condemned, and thrown from the Tarpeian rock. And the rest of that fraternity, together with all the astrologers and fortune tellers, which greatly abounded, were banished from Italy.

Clemens, a bondman to the late Agrippa, and somewhat like him, pretended to be his master; but was seized and put to death before he could do much mischief. A revolt which happened in Numidia, was likewise quelled; and Drusus was sent to suppress a rising in Illyricum. Some disturbances having arisen in Asia, Germanicus, after receiving the highest honours at Rome, was or-

dered into the East. This was the fourth year of Tiberius's reign, in which a great earthquake destroyed twelve cities in Asia, besides doing a great deal of mischief in Sicily and Calabria. And the emperor gained a good deal of credit by his generosity to those who suffered on this occasion.

Some additions were made to the empire both in Thrace and Germany; and in the East, Germanicus, with his accustomed good fortune, reduced Cappadocia and Comagene to Roman provinces. He likewise settled the affairs of the tributary kingdom of Armenia, and renewed the alliance with Parthia. But neither the virtue or services of Germanicus, could save him from the designs of his enemies. He died, as is generally supposed, of poison, in the 24th year of his age; and by all accounts, he did not leave behind him a better or a braver Roman.

It was at Antioch that he expired, and Piso, the governor of Syria, on his return to Rome, was accused of his death. It is doubtful, whether Piso put an end to his life, or

was slain by order of Tiberius. But the latter was universally supposed to have occasioned Germanicus's fate, though he laboured by every means to avoid so odious a suspicion.

Several trivial revolts took place and were subdued in various quarters. But what is still better worth our notice, are the intrigues at home. The Emperor's chief minister Sejanus, had gained the most perfect ascendancy over his master. The Prætorian guards were devoted to him. As all favours passed through his hands, he had also a formidable party in both city and senate. Thus prepared, he meditated to raise himself to the supreme power. And in order to do so, he resolved to remove by degrees, all that were of the blood royal.

Drusus, the son of Tiberius, was the first who fell. He had in vain endeavoured to open the eyes of his father, and Sejanus having debauched the wife of Drusus, they, in conjunction, administered a slow poison, which carried him off. Drusus left two sons, but

being both infants, Tiberius declared Nero and Drusus, the two eldest of Germanicus's offspring, to be his successors in the empire.

This was however no sooner done, than Sejanus found means to persuade Tiberius, that a strong party was formed in favour of Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and her children. To support this supposed plot, informers were encouraged; and many innocent persons suffered death or banishment in consequence of it. Agrippina herself was not yet out of favour, but by the artifices of Sejanus, the disgrace of her and her two sons, was near at hand.

Tiberius, who was devoted to his lusts, and every sort of pleasure, was prevailed on by Sejanus to retire to the island Capræa, that he might no longer be interrupted in his gratifications. Every thing that he took delight in, had been previously provided. And the Emperor abandoning himself to sensuality, left all public affairs to the will of his minister. This happened in the 12th year of his reign, and the family of Germanicus soon

felt its effects. Their adherents were exiled or put to death. Agrippina, and Nero her son, were also banished, and Drusus died in confinement.

The senate perceiving all power vested in Sejanus, paid him such honours as a little roused the jealousy of Tiberius. Other circumstances increased it, which being perceived by some around him, they ventured to point out his real situation. When Tiberius found that he was, in fact, in the absolute power of Sejanus, all the soldiers in Caprea being devoted to him; he saw that his safety depended on the greatest circumspection. That his minister aimed at the supreme power, he had now no doubt; he therefore resolved on the deepest dissimulation, to which he was perfectly equal. And raising Sejanus to be his colleague in the consulship, he sent him to reside at Rome during the year. This was considered by the favourite as the greatest proof of his master's attachment. But from that moment every possible step was taken to remove him with safety.

Caius Caligula, the third son of Germanicus, had escaped the fate of his mother and brothers, and was now at Caprea. Though a youth, he had hypocrisy sufficient to work himself into the good graces of Tiberius. Having taken effectual means to sap the power of the minister, it was now made public, that Caligula was intended to succeed to the empire. This was a severe blow to the credit of Sejanus, and Tiberius soon after ventured to have him seized in the senate. His condemnation and execution immediately followed. The dead body was then torn in pieces by the populace. And by the inhuman orders of the Emperor, his children, and all who had any connection with him, without regard either to sex or age, were executed. The murder of his son Drusus coming to light, his widow was, with justice, starved to death. But the same cannot be said as to those who had the misfortune to be her friends or intimates, and who were also doomed to perish. Indeed from this time forth, a more bloody tyrant never ex-

isted than Tiberius. His jealousies were frivolous and unbounded; and friends and foes were almost promiscuously slaughtered by his orders. His lusts, many of which were of the most abominable kind, kept pace with his cruelties; and both of them rather increased than diminished, till death put a period to them in the 37th year of the Christian *Æra*; which was four years after the period to which I have now been directing your attention.

FIFTH LETTER.

YOU must again have observed new nations appearing, whose barbarity was an evidence of the lateness of their formation; and is consequently an additional proof of the progressive state of mankind. But though some kingdoms were thus in their infancy, a more general degree of cultivation had taken place than had ever before existed. A greater

empire had arisen than any that had preceded it. In Rome, its capital, were centered the knowledge and improvements of the earth. Sculpture, painting, architecture, and all the manual arts, were brought to perfection. There were various writers who distinguished themselves in history, philosophy, and the sciences. Some of the greatest orators and best poets that have ever appeared, flourished towards the close of my present æra. And without all doubt, the Augustan age was the summit of the heathen world.

These improvements were however more dazzling than really advantageous. They indeed gratified the senses, whilst there was nothing in them that could secure the happiness of man. Universality of empire, ought to have produced universality of peace and affluence. But instead of such fruits, misery and wretchedness were its offspring. The conquered countries were either reduced into provinces or tributary kingdoms. The first were grievously oppressed by the avarice and venality of the Roman Prætors and Quæstors. The lat-

ter suffered as much, if not more, from a double taxation; one part of which went to Rome, and the other to their respective princes. And besides this, multitudes from the subjected nations, were rendered the menial slaves of the imperious Romans.

This being the political state of the members, let us examine the head of this extensive empire. I shall not recount the horrid scenes which took place in the Roman civil wars, but confine myself to the times when domestic peace was restored. It is true, that the tribute of the almost then known world, was lavished at Rome after the death of Antony; nor do I wonder at the praises of those sensualists, who lived in the sunshine of Augustus's court. But will any man say, that the form of government was eligible, which was at this time established? The lives, the possessions, and the dearest privileges of nature, were held at the will of the Emperor. This was experienced by several, even in the latter part of Augustus's reign. Tiberius more fully convinced them of the

deplorable state into which they had fallen. And many of the subsequent Emperors exceeded that monster in tyrannic oppression.

I have hitherto been speaking of exterior government only. Let us now take a short view of their interior situation. As to the provinces and tributary kingdoms, suffice it to say, each had its peculiar customs and vices, and that the Roman depravities were introduced into them all. Besides those crimes, which were practised by the Romans contrary to their laws, there were many detestable ones, to which no punishment was allotted. Amongst such, were their cruel and bloody exhibitions of gladiators. Their divorces at the will of the husband, in these days became extremely common. So did the practice of fathers exposing their infant progeny to die. The lewdness of the women, which was grown excessive, was encouraged by public stews and brothels being consecrated to certain of their Deities. And

what is more abominable than all, the most unnatural lusts were openly exercised.

Thus we find, that whilst all external things were brought to a high degree of excellence in the reign of Augustus, so also had vice obtained its summit. Wretchedness, its inseparable companion, likewise pervaded the empire, Rome itself not being an exception. The cause of these evils is worthy of our researches; and I apprehend we shall find it, in the ignorance of God, the duties due to him, and to the uncertainty of their own immortality.

Every country had its peculiar Deities; and many were common to all. These were worshipped with various rites, some of which were lustful, cruel, and abominable. Their Gods and Goddeses were painted with all the passions of mortals, and which they equally indulged. They were therefore patterns of vice, and not of virtue. The priests and priestesses made all religious duty consist in vain ceremonies and offerings. And if they and their temples were enriched, the

only end they had in view was fully answered. Without doubt, this religion was only believed by the ignorant multitude, in the æra I at present treat of. But then, the learned and higher ranks of life, flew to the different sects of philosophers, from whom they received but little advantage; for though they rejected absolute idolatry, the human understanding, unaided by the Deity, in vain attempted to attain the truth.

In Asia, those who rose above the common prejudices, either adopted the opinion of the Persian Magi, or the Eastern doctrine of Gnosis or science. The first which supposed two principles, the one good and the other evil, which were constantly combating with each other, I have treated of at large in my third æra. The latter allowed a God, from whom all spirits derived their existence; but they made matter co-eternal with him, and in it they supposed evil to be vested. They also said, that an intelligence inferior to the Deity, formed this world and its in-

habitants out of matter. And a number of absurd consequences were drawn from this erroneous system.

Amongst the Greeks and Romans, five sects had their followers. These were the Platonists, the Stoics, the Peripatetics, the Academics, and the Epicureans. Plato who came the nearest to truth, taught the immortality of the soul, and that one great and good Being governed the universe. But though he reasoned well, yet still these glorious principles were not free from doubt and obscurity. The Stoics supposed God to reside above the stars, to be a corporeal Being, connected with matter, but subject to the determinations of an immutable fate. And instead of the absolute immortality of the human soul, they only allowed it a greater period of existence than the body. Aristotle who founded the Peripatetics, describes God as a principle, happy in the contemplation of itself, that gives life or motion to the universe, but totally disregards all human affairs. Nor does this philosopher positively assert the immor-

tality of the soul. The Academics said it was impossible to arrive at truth. They doubted of the existence of God, of immortality, and of a distinction between virtue and vice. The Epicureans assigned the formation of the world to chance; they asserted, that the Gods paid no attention to it, that the soul perished with the body, that virtue had no claim to esteem, and that pleasure was the only pursuit worthy of attention. Of all the opinions then prevalent, this was the worst, for it absolutely encouraged wickedness; but it was the best received amongst the dissolute Romans. A sect, later in formation than those I have mentioned, was very considerable in Egypt at the time of Christ's death. It was called the Eclectic, taking its tenets from all the rest, rejecting such parts of each as they disliked. But it was incapable of arriving at truth.

The Jews alone had been favoured with the true knowledge of the creation, of immortality, and of God. But their teachers

had so perverted every thing, that they were not a great deal more enlightened than the heathens. We may therefore safely pronounce, that an almost universal ignorance of God—of the immortality of man—and of future rewards and punishments, prevailed when the Messiah began to execute his mission. It is allowed by all, that the heathen system was at its height in the Augustan age. And as it was accompanied by wretchedness, oppression and vice, we may with certainty infer, that mere human wisdom, and mere human inventions, are absolutely incapable of establishing the happiness, either of individuals or of nations. Various laws, various constitutions had been formed, and various states had arisen to power; all of which, in their turn, passed their summit and went in to decay. But none of them made mankind virtuous—none could render them happy. Such was the experience men had of their own natural weakness and depravity when Christ promulgated the road to universal happiness, and laid the foundation of a ter-

restrial kingdom, that shall bind the earth in one close system of undisturbed felicity.

The certainty of Christ's personal reign on earth, and the time of its duration, will come in better after I have made you acquainted with all the important events of the world. In the mean time let me assure you, we have the undoubted and never failing word of prophecy, that this glorious kingdom shall arise. Such was the belief of the Apostles, and all the christians nearest to their times. Such is now the expectation of the dispersed and wandering Jews. They are then to be gathered, who are at this moment a standing miracle and literal accomplishment of part of the sacred predictions. And then, as is foretold, nation shall rise up against nation no more. Their spears shall be beat into ploughshares, and their swords be converted into pruning hooks. Then shall every heart be taught of God, and out of Holy Sion shall come forth the universal law.

This closes the history of the world from the creation to the introduction of christianity.



